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HISTORY OF MODERN ROME.

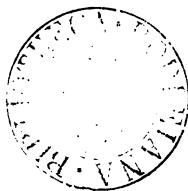
HISTORY OF MODERN ROME:

FROM THE

TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE (1453)

TO THE

RESTORATION (1850) OF POPE PIUS THE NINTH.



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HISTORY OF MODERN ROME.

WHEN the Roman Empire in the west fell before Odoacer, King of the Heruli (A.D., 476), there was not in Europe even one great nation under a regular government. Italy was possessed by a mixed population of Italians, Visigoths, Franks, Vandals, and Huns. During the numerous changes and the anarchy which followed on the absence of a controlling power, the Christian Church was held together chiefly by that independent spirit which has always rendered the educated Christians inclined to follow the precept, "be not ye called masters;" and secondarily, by the gradation of ranks in the government of the Church, and by that government always leaving much of its details to be shaped according to local custom, and according to the necessity of the

occasion. None of the bishops of Rome had originally any political jurisdiction over any territory. When the Greek Emperor, Leo Isaurus, published an edict prohibiting the use of images in public worship, which edict was distasteful to and resisted by the people of Italy, the Bishops or Popes of Rome constituted themselves the leaders of the Italians, and called the Lombards to their aid. These allies responded to the call for reasons of their own, and the distressed Popes were obliged to beg help against the Lombards from Pepin, King of the Franks. Pepin invaded Italy, and compelled the Lombards to relinquish the territories they had taken in Central Italy. These territories, including Rome and the Greek exarchate, were given by Pepin to "the holy church of god and the Roman republic." This gift (756) founded the temporal strength of the Papacy. Charlemagne, son and successor of Pepin, acted as defender of the Church, delivered Pope Adrian the First from the attacks of the Lombards, defeated their king, annexed the Lombard territories to his own, assumed the Lombard crown, and confirmed (773) to the Church the donation of his father Pepin. The Pope in return acknowledged Charlemagne as patrician of Rome and feudal chief of Italy, with the right of ratifying the election of each new nominee to the Papacy.

For some time there had been a dispute going on between the Popes of Rome and the Patriarchs of Constantinople relative to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bulgarians, which Photius, the Patriarch, claimed on account of their being a portion of the Greek Empire, and formally annexed them (861) to his patriarchate. The Pope, Nicholas the First, called a Council (862) at Rome and excommunicated Photius, who assembled (866) a Council at Constantinople, excommunicated the Pope, and pronounced the creed of the Western Church heretical. Since that time the two Churches have been divided. The Greek Church is that acknowledged by the Christians of Greece, Turkey, and Russia. It differs from the Church of Rome chiefly by rejecting purgatory and the celibacy of the clergy.

Germany was the most important part of Charlemagne's dominions. One of the emperors, Otho the First, surnamed "the Great," conquered Italy, and rendered its king (951) a feudal subject of the German crown. Subsequently, the reigning Pope, John the Twelfth (962), conferred on Otho the title of Emperor of the West. Some time after this event Otho caused John to be deposed (964), and a new Pope to be elected, from whom, and from the clergy and people of Rome, Otho at the same time obtained a promise, confirmed by an oath, that they would

never afterwards appoint or accept a Pope without the consent and sanction of himself or his successors on the German throne. As temporal King of Rome, the Pope was, therefore, only a vassal of the German Emperors. This vassalage was a source of controversy between the Emperors and the Popes, a controversy, too, which for a long time affected the history of all Europe.

The Empire of Germany was internally disunited by hostile factions, which gave way to their mutual animosities, except when held in awe by an Emperor of superior abilities. The same was the case with all the kingdoms of this period. Rome was no better. When a Pope was elected, he was generally a very old man. Consequently elections were frequent. Noble families tyrannised over Rome, which was frequently a scene of riot and confusion, where, in the course of combats between the factions of rival Popes, some of the Popes were murdered (as Stephen the Seventh, 897), others were deposed, and others imprisoned by the nobles.

While Henry the Fourth of Germany was engaged in quelling a rebellion among his Saxon subjects, Pope Gregory the Seventh held a Council at Rome (1074), where he caused a decree to be passed forbidding all kings to exercise the right of investing bishops and abbots within their dominions. The

various kings had theretofore exercised this right, which was equivalent to bestowing their offices on bishops and abbots. Henry being engaged in war, was obliged at first to pretend acquiescence, but as soon as he had quelled the Saxons he set the Papal decree at nought, and (1076) convoking an assembly of his chief nobles and prelates, obliged them to pass a decree deposing Gregory from the Papal office. Gregory thereupon excommunicated Henry, who was deserted by many of his nobles, and compelled by them to promise submission to the Pope. Henry went to Italy, where he found the Pope in Tuscany, at the castle of Canossa. Here he was obliged to stand as a penitent in an outer court of the castle during three days in winter, and to confess his error in the most abject manner before Gregory would give him absolution.

On his return to Germany, Henry found that a party of his nobles had in his absence elected Rudolph, Duke of Swabia, Emperor of Germany. A war of course ensued. But Henry defeated his rival, and placed himself again on the throne. As soon as he had done so he declared Gregory deposed, appointed a new Pope, who took the name of Clement the Third (1080), marched into Italy, took Rome after a siege of three years, and entering in triumph (1084), received the Imperial crown from

the hands of Clement. Gregory found a refuge at Salerno. He issued a new sentence of excommunication against his enemy, but it was of no use. Courageous, tyrannical, bigoted, arrogant, asectic, and imperious as Gregory was, yet he had no faith in Divine Providence. "I have loved justice," he said, "and hated iniquity, and, therefore, I die an exile." The letters of the fallen tyrant written at this time were of the most desponding kind, and he died (1085) as he deserved, disappointed, vexed, and powerless.

In the meantime, commerce began to exercise an influence on the state of Europe. Mere labour without capital cannot carry on trade to any great extent, because labour cannot give credit. Mere capital cannot carry on trade, because it requires to be invested with care and skill. Therefore, a middle class, possessed of some capital, and at the same time able to labour or to direct the labour of subordinates, is necessary for the carrying on of commerce extensively and profitably. Wherever there is a State without a powerful middle class, that State is in a condition of either infancy or decrepitude. The first stir of European revival was the prosperity of Venice, which was founded by refugees from various Italian cities. These refugees applied themselves to commerce, and the city was governed (697) by an aris-

tocratic council of merchants, at the head of whom was a doge, or duke-mayor, elected for life. Venice rose by her commercial enterprise to a condition of great prosperity, and subsequently she became (1000) powerful, and preserved her political independence during about eight centuries. Her example was imitated by Genoa and Pisa.

Notwithstanding the ultimate defeat of Gregory the Seventh, the influence of religion on the social state of Europe was now at its height. The Popes wished to add Asia to their religious empire, and for that purpose exhorted the European princes to undertake the liberation of Palestine from the Turks, who had seized on that country which was the scene of the principal events recorded in the Christian Scriptures. Multitudes of needy adventurers and several noblemen embarked in this enterprise. A series of wars, styled crusades, were carried on against the Turks in Palestine. The crusaders took Jerusalem and held it for some years, but were ultimately driven out of it; and after a continuance of two hundred and seventy-six years (1095 to 1271), a sacrifice of two millions of Europeans, and the expenditure of large sums of money, the useless enterprise was abandoned. But though the crusades were in themselves useless, yet their indirect consequences were beneficial and important. Vast numbers of the crusaders were serfs

who were bound to the soil, and could never have escaped from slavery were it not that their masters were afraid to forbid their assisting in these holy wars, in which they perished, and their places at home were filled by free labourers. The expense to which the feudal proprietors were put caused many of them to sell their lands, which were divided among a number of purchasers, who began the formation of a middle class. The jurisdiction of the Popes was rather increased, but the unfortunate issue of the enterprise opened the eyes of men, because the issue was unfortunate, to the selfish motives which had instigated the Popes to prompt the undertaking; and thus the sway of religion was weakened. But the fall of the feudal lords increased the power of the various sovereigns, and in whatever countries these were able to maintain standing armies, the respective people exchanged a number of masters for only one. There is not the least doubt, however, that the effect of the crusades on the Papacy was that of weakening its influence. This is proved by the fact that in the early part of the thirteenth century heretics began to declare themselves openly, and even sceptics began to question the truth of Christianity, and to find fault with the physical and tyrannical methods by which the Romish Church acted on society.

The county of Languedoc, in France, had become the principal seat of two sects called the Albigenses and the Waldenses, who held religious opinions different from those then in fashion, and different from each other, but they both agreed in disowning the supremacy of the Pope. The Albigenses spread into southern France and northern Spain, and incorporated themselves with other heretical sects native to those countries. The Pope resolved to persecute these heretics in their stronghold, Languedoc, which was more out of connexion with the French crown than any other part of France, and was subject to the counts of Toulouse, who stood forth as the protectors of the Albigenses. The Pope, Innocent the Third, preached a crusade against the Albigenses and all who aided them, and after a persecution unequalled and infamous in respect of cruelty, meanness, and wickedness, the Albigenses were destroyed, the remnant of them driven from Languedoc (1229), and the court of Toulouse was beaten and obliged to withdraw protection from them. At the same time, and in southern France, the Inquisition was first established.

The Inquisition* is by many degrees the most unjust and the most sinful institution that ever disgraced man or religion. The grossest errors of

* See Reid's Ed. of Mosheim, Cent. XIII., Part 2, Ch. 5.

paganism are as nothing when compared with the immoralities of the Inquisition. That "novum organum" for discovering truth was originally invented for the detection of heretics and the correction of their errors. When the inquisitors discovered a transgressor of their laws, he was cited to appear before them, and if he did not appear on the third citation he was immediately condemned. As, however, the Inquisition had not authority to put him to death, he was handed over to the civil authorities, who were intreated by the inquisitors to spare his life; but the civil authorities would experience persecution if they failed to burn the heretic to death. When a supposed heretic was in the hands of the Inquisition, no one dared to inquire after him or say anything about him. The mode of procedure against him was of the most tedious kind. After a long time spent in a gloomy prison, the keeper asked the accused man in a casual manner whether he wished to be heard. When he was led before their tribunal of mock justice, he was asked who he was and what he wanted, just as if his captors did not know anything about him. If he asked to be informed of what crime he was accused, he was advised to confess his crimes voluntarily. If he did not confess anything he was remanded to his dungeon. If, after a long time, he still did not confess, he was put on his

oath. He was then questioned regarding his whole life, without knowing anything regarding that for which he was suspected. After this examination he was offered a pardon if he would confess his crimes, an artifice by which the inquisitors sometimes discovered more than they previously knew regarding their victim. When the charges against him were made known to him they were delivered to him in writing. Then counsel was assigned to him; but this was a mere form, as the counsel never did more than advise the prisoner to confess his crimes. His accuser and the witnesses against him he was kept as ignorant of as possible. If, then, after examination, he did not satisfy his persecutors, he was tormented in a manner far more painful and inhuman than any of the tortures recorded to have been inflicted on Christians by pagans. First he was suspended in the air by a rope passed under his arms which were tied behind his back, and after swinging for a time, he was let fall nearly to the ground, by the shock of which fall his joints were dislocated. After this he was made to drink a quantity of water, and laid upon a hollowed bench, across the middle of which a stick was passed, which kept the body of the victim suspended, and caused him most intense pain in the back-bone. Thirdly, his feet being smeared with oil, were directed towards a hot fire,

and the soles of them left to burn. Each of these tortures was continued as long as the physician of the Inquisition considered the victim was able to endure it. Such were the chief features of this Christian engine of salvation. There were various other tortures and tricks for deception practised by the inquisitors, some of which are not accurately known. But the unjust, cruel, and disgusting nature of the institution is notorious and infamous.

Yet, bad as this account of the Inquisition may seem, the cruelties and horrors of that accursed institution partly originated from an impertinent benevolence. The Roman Catholics (as well as almost all sects of Christians and Mohamedans) believe that salvation from punishment in a future state can be obtained only through *faith* in their articles of belief. Arguing on this hypothesis, they say that it is better for a man to suffer any possible amount of bodily pain, and die a believer, than to be suffered to die in bodily peace, and fall into spiritual perdition. The idea of religious toleration they maintain to be identical with infidelity. That infidelity is necessarily followed by perdition in a future state, all sects, except Unitarians, seem to take as a self-evident proposition. Yet, they admit that it is impossible for all men to believe, especially those persons who never heard of Christ or Mahomet; and

it may be here observed that, if all the true believers of the two religions were to be collected together in two separate assemblies, neither assembly could agree as to what piece of faith would be sufficient to obtain that salvation which they have made so expensive, so troublesome, and the cause of unspeakable bloodshed and robbery. Ignorant men *will not* perceive that "every race of men has received its destination assigned to it by God, with the character which is suited to it and stamps it;" that the savage race is "but half human from the first;" and also, "that not a single instance can be produced of a really savage people which has become civilized of its own accord, and that, where civilization has been forced upon such a people from without, the physical decay of the race has ensued."* Those who can perceive these things, can also perceive the absurdity of that impertinent benevolence which aims at placing the Negro on a level with the Teuton, the brute on a level with the man. The civilization of the savage nations, the "conversion of the heathen," and the profitable reclamation of desert land by manuring it with brown sugar, are speculations all of which are equally possible and useful.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century the struggles between the Emperors of Germany and the

* Niebuhr's Rome, Vol. I.

Popes for dominion were arranged. The Emperor Rudolph relinquished all feudal rights of the Empire over the States of the Church (1278), but not over other parts of Italy. This, however, did not give order and prosperity to Rome, which was torn by the dissensions of the Orsini, Colonnas, Porcari, and Annibaldeschi. These families were too powerful to be quelled by any Pope, and they were in communication with foreign powers, whose interference increased the confusion. Yet these Popes, though so powerless at home, often attempted to render themselves civil rulers of the European kingdoms. They all failed, however, to establish their claim on a permanent basis. One of these, Boniface the Eighth, had been opposed by the Colonnas; and though he excommunicated them, and succeeded (by aid from the Orsini) in banishing them from Rome, yet he was far from having crushed them. Boniface, attempting to rule temporal kings as Gregory the Seventh and Innocent the Third had tried, got himself involved in a dispute with Philip the Fourth of France, who compelled the French clergy to declare in his favour against Boniface, and sent a force into Italy to co-operate with the Colonnas. Philip's soldiers took Boniface prisoner, plundered his vast treasures, and treated him with great indignity. He was rescued from their hands, but only to be impri-

soned by the Colonnas, in whose custody (1303) he died. The failure of Boniface virtually put an end to the first great object of the Papacy—namely, that of enabling the Popes to act as the civil rulers of other men's kingdoms. This event was followed by a lasting though not an open contest between the French crown and the Papacy. In this contest the chief object of the former was to have always a subservient French churchman in the Papal chair. Between France, Spain, and Austria there was a jealousy regarding this matter. For a time, however, France succeeded. Bertrand, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, was (1305) elected Pope, and fixed the seat of his court at Avignon instead of Rome. His immediate successors in the Papacy were all Frenchmen, and persisted in living at Avignon. These Popes appointed legates to represent them at Rome; but there the real administration of affairs fell into the hands of the Orsini, the Colonnas, the Porcari, and other powerful families, some of whom were hostile to each other. During several years, Rome was governed sometimes by the Popes through their legates, sometimes by one of the powerful families, and sometimes by a mob of the people. In the meantime both Italy and Germany were dissatisfied by the residence of the Popes in France. Pope Gregory the Eleventh, the last of seven Popes ap-

pointed at Avignon, returned (1376) to Rome, but on his death, about two years afterwards (1378), a Pope, named Urban the Sixth, was elected by the Italian party, and another Pope, named Clement the Seventh, was elected by the French party, who wished the Papal seat to be transferred back to Avignon. Both Popes exercised the Papal functions, the former at Rome, the latter at Avignon. The various nations of Europe obeyed whichever Pope they chose, and called the other an anti-Pope. So early as the latter half of the thirteenth century Europe began to be full of sceptics, who denied the doctrines of the Church and disapproved of her conduct towards society. This sceptical spirit increased perceptibly, particularly in Italy. It was materially aided by the contest between the rival Popes, which lasted during upwards of sixty years (1378 to 1449), and which rendered the Roman States during that time the worst governed part of Europe. The residence of the Popes at Avignon is generally known by the name of the "captivity;" the subsequent quarrel of the contending Popes has been termed "the great schism." During these two periods (1305 to 1449), extending over nearly a century and a-half, Rome was a prey to republican outbreaks and to family conflicts between the oligarchs. For a year (1347-8) the people, headed by Cola di

Rienzi, were triumphant. The Colonnas and the Orsini re-established the government of the factions. But the spark of liberty smouldered under the rubbish on which fragments of law and order were seated.

It was under these circumstances that Thomas of Sarzana, Bishop of Bologna, was called to the Papacy. He was originally the son of a poor physician, and born (1398) at Sarzana, in Tuscany. Having at an early age displayed great talents and a love for letters, he was patronised by Cardinal Nicholas Albergati, who paid for his education. His talents for business and theology raised him to the Bishopric of Bologna (1445), and two years later (19th March, 1447) he was elected Pope, on which occasion he assumed the title of Nicholas the Fifth, as a mark of gratitude to his benefactor. His first step was to conciliate the Emperor Frederick of Germany, with whom he concluded a concordat, by which the Germans were relieved from some of the burdens laid on them by preceding Popes. He succeeded in also conciliating Charles the Seventh of France, at whose instance the rival Pope, Felix the Fifth, was induced to offer the resignation of his adverse dignity, provided that Felix were given the first place in the College of Cardinals,—that all hostile excommunications on both sides were revoked—and that all

persons of both parties who held church dignities should be left undisturbed. These terms were accepted by Nicholas, and also minor stipulations. Accordingly, Felix resigned his pretensions to the Papacy (April, 1449), and immediately afterwards Nicholas published bulls confirming all the provisions he had agreed to. The settlement of this question was a most important gain to Nicholas, and is of itself ample proof of his great wisdom and moderation.

Having united all the claims of the Papacy in himself, Nicholas next proceeded to establish his authority at Rome. The weakness of the Papal army permitted the Romans, as we have seen, to manifest a vague desire for liberty. Nicholas gradually destroyed the forces of the Roman families. The family of Porcari conspired against the Papal despotism with some persons who wished to establish a republic at Rome. They were betrayed, and (January, 1453) Nicholas extinguished the last flicker of Roman liberty in the blood of the Porcari.

The next step of Nicholas was to remodel and consolidate the system of his Government. In order to strengthen the papacy, Nicholas resolved to make the Pope a temporal monarch, as well as a spiritual despot. Those posts, therefore, in the civil administration of Rome which in other kingdoms are usually

filled by laymen, he filled with cardinals and bishops who were his own creatures. He was the first Popè who systematically appointed ecclesiastics to civil offices. Under him the Papal dominions became a regular European State, subject to an established ecclesiastical tyranny, just as other kingdoms were subject to a civil system of despotic rule. By these three achievements Nicholas is entitled to be regarded as the person who first established on a solid basis whatever temporal authority the Popes ever possessed.

But the sweetness of every human pleasure is tainted with some bitterness. A few months after Nicholas had established himself as both a spiritual and temporal monarch in his dominions, he was at once vexed and startled by the news that Constantinople had been taken (1453, 29th May) by the Turks. He had urged the Christian Princes to aid the Byzantines, whose downfall he now contemplated with dismay. In common with all Christendom, he feared for his own safety, or at least for his triple crown. Yet the enemy he dreaded did not do him any injury, while an amusement which he cultivated gave a wound to the power of his successors. There probably never has been a more liberal nor a less ostentatious patron of letters and scholars than Nicholas. He collected books and manuscripts ;

had translations made of the Greek classics and the fathers of the Eastern Church; received and pensioned learned men from various countries, especially from Greece; enlarged the Roman University; and founded the Vatican library, which during his reign of eight years he stored with about five thousand volumes—ignorant or forgetful that knowledge of every kind is the deadly foe of Roman Catholic superstition.

Nicholas died at fifty-seven years of age (March, 1455). He was free from the charge of nepotism. All his aims were of an exalted character, and his disposition, considering the spirit of his times, was, on the whole, benevolent. His achievements were not so brilliant as those of Gregory the Seventh or Innocent the Third, but they were far more useful. No Pope equalled him in wisdom and prudence, nor is Rome more indebted to any other Pope.

Nicholas was succeeded by Alphonso Borgia, a Spaniard, who took the name of Calixtus the Third. He was clever as a diplomatist, and immediately after his election applied himself to uniting the princes of Europe against the Turks. This union was the grand object of many of the Popes for a long time after the capture of Constantinople. By the exertions of Calixtus a small fleet was made ready, and some islands in the Archipelago were recovered

from the Turks; but the nepotism of Calixtus embroiled him in disputes with the King of Arragon. These disputes would have burst into a war were it not that the death of Calixtus (1458) prevented it. The next Pope was Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, who took the name of Pius the Second. He endeavoured to unite Christendom in a war against the Turks, but in vain, and his vices caused his death (1464) before he achieved anything memorable. He was succeeded by Peter Barbo, who took the name of Paul the Second. As George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, favoured the Hussites, Paul excommunicated the King, and raised a religious war against him; but the King defeated the army of the Pope, who was obliged to content himself with publishing the idle denunciations of the Church against heretics. Paul was succeeded (1471) by Francis della Rovere, who took the title of Sixtus the Fourth. During his pontificate Otranto was taken by the Turks, but was retaken by the Christians a few months afterwards. The time of Sixtus was chiefly employed in trying to provide for his relatives. He was succeeded (1484) by Giovanni Baptist Cibo, a native of Genoa, who took the name of Innocent the Eighth. Innocent enriched his natural children, and on his death (1492) the cardinals, to their everlasting disgrace, elected as Pope Roderic Borgia, who took the name

of Alexander the Sixth. When he was elected, Alexander had four illegitimate children, and during his reign he employed every means in his power to make them rich and distinguished. When Charles the Eighth of France attempted the conquest of Naples, Alexander promised to support him ; but the Pope's younger son having married the Neapolitan King's daughter, Alexander soon after joined the league formed in the north of Italy, which led to the expulsion of the French from Italy. Alexander now attempted the destruction of the great Roman families of Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli. Partly by violence and partly by treachery he put most of them to death, and seized on their extensive possessions. During Alexander's pontificate Christopher Columbus discovered America. The ownership of the New World was a disputed question between the Kings of Spain and Portugal. This question the Pope determined by granting to Spain the part of the World lying to the west of a line supposed to be drawn from north to south, and passing about one hundred leagues from the island of Cape Verde, and all lying to the south-east to the King of Portugal. The two bulls (1493 and 1501) whereby Alexander made this decision gave to the crown of Spain *entire possession* of the part of the American Continent discovered by the Spaniards. The Pope being supposed

infallible, these bulls deprived him and his successors of all direct influence in the Spanish American Colonies, and gave to the crown of Spain the right of repulsing any jurisdiction the Popes might attempt to exercise there. Thus all bulls, decrees, mandates, or commissions from the Pope there required the sanction of the Spanish Crown before being valid, and were consequently sent from Rome to Spain, where the Council of the Indies rejected or admitted them according as the advantage of the royal prerogative required. Alexander is said to have died (1503) of poison intended for his guest, the Cardinal of Corneto. He was succeeded nominally by Francis Fodeschini, who took the name of Pius the Third, but died twenty-six days after his election, and then by Julian della Rovere, who took the name of Julius the Second. The first exploit of Julius was his expelling from the territory of the Church Cæsar Borgia, son of the infamous Pope. Cæsar was a man nearly as bad as his father, but not so successful. He was killed not long afterwards. But Julius soon had more enemies on his hands; for the Venetians were in possession of Ravenna, Rimini, and other places belonging to the Romagna. They offered, however, to pay tribute to the Pope for those places, but Julius, more warlike than wise, refused this offer, and uniting the French, the Germans, and

the Duke of Ferrara against Venice, brought into Italy friends who were more powerful than he. When too late, he saw his mistake, and his last years were spent in vainly trying to put his friends out of Italy. He was succeeded (1513) by Giovanni de Medici, who took the name of Leo the Tenth. He succeeded in expelling the French from Italy, but only by means of Charles the Fifth of Spain, who thereby obtained a footing in Italy, which the Popes were unable to take from him. A few days after the French were driven out of Piacenza (1521), Leo died, and was succeeded by Hadrian Boyens, who took the name of Adrian the Sixth.

The pontificate of Leo is famous on account of its having witnessed the outbreak of the Reformation, although Leo had little or nothing to do with that event. It was caused by that natural insubordination of the human mind to despotic authority which never has been entirely repressed anywhere, and which, when applied to ecclesiastical matters, is called heresy. While sensual and ambitious men take for granted the established religion, whatever it may be, thoughtful and conscientious men become heretics. Of these there are two classes, namely, those who find it difficult to believe anything except the most common-place things of every day occurrence, and those who are not satisfied without find-

ing some grounds for believing more than is warranted by the deductions of reason from facts, or by any received book of supposed revelation. The most eminent representatives of these respective classes are David Hume and Emanuel Swedenborg ; but they had numerous predecessors, as is proved by the many old apologies for Christianity, or at least for the Roman Catholic section of it. Ever since the Church of Rome spread over Europe there were some heretics among her members. In fact, it is impossible that all the men of Europe could ever have been unanimous regarding religion. Prior to the thirteenth century the heretics, in order to be safe, were for the most part silent. But the human race is composed of individuals, and the mind of every individual more or less influences some members of his race. Heresy spread in the Church of Rome without making much noise, and the progress of heresy continued until it spread over more than half the surface of Europe. Its progress was materially aided by the selfishness, vices, and arrogance of the priests ; by the tyranny and assumptions of the Popes ; by the spirit of enterprise excited by the discovery of America ; and by the new turn given to the minds of educated men by the revived study of Greek literature. Accordingly, heresy, which had been long almost silent, now spoke out under the

leadership of Ulrick Zwingli, in Switzerland (1516), and of Martin Luther (1517), in Germany. Numbers of heretics appeared in every country of Europe, and formal separations of large masses from the Church of Rome soon followed in Switzerland (1524), Germany (1529), England (1534), Sweden (1544), and (1562) in the Netherlands.

Adrian reigned only about a year and eight months. He achieved nothing important, and was succeeded (1523) by Giulio de Medicis, who took the name of Clement the Seventh. To prevent Charles getting possession of all Italy, Clement joined with Francis the First of France. But Charles defeated Francis, took Rome by storm, and (1527) made Clement a prisoner, who was not liberated until he assented to terms dictated to him by Charles. Henry the Eighth of England having requested Clement to divorce his wife from him, and Clement having refused to do so, Henry (1534) obtained an act from his Parliament declaring himself supreme head of the Church in England. With this event the unfortunate reign of Clement ended. He was succeeded by Alexander Farnese (1534), who took the name of Paul the Third, and (1542) convoked the Council of Trent, at the earnest solicitation of those Roman Catholic princes who hoped that a general council would put an end to dissensions in

the Church. But his pontificate is chiefly famous for the circumstance that during its continuance the order of Jesuits was instituted (14th March, 1543). To the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, common to all religious orders, the Jesuits added a fourth of blind and unqualified submission to the Pope. Their chief aim was by every means, right or wrong, to bring all mankind into the pale of the Romish Church. For this purpose they applied themselves to the education of youth, and to the conversion of the heathen nations in Asia and South America. During many years their efforts were crowned with success. The Jesuits were the Tories of the earth, opposed to every social improvement, to every advancement in scientific knowledge, and to every elevation of the labouring and the middle classes. From this time the Popes, defeated in their hope of having all Europe under their civil as well as their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, began to try to reduce the Protestant States by means of military force, and to acquire new kingdoms by the labours of the Jesuits abroad. Accordingly, by means of Charles the Fifth, Paul organised an attack on the Protestant princes of Germany, who had formed a league among themselves for their mutual preservation. To the invading army Paul contributed about ten thousand soldiers. Charles defeated the Protes-

tant league in a general engagement (April 24, 1547), partly, however, by the treachery of Maurice, afterwards Elector of Saxony. The success of Charles alarmed Paul, who withdrew his contingent from the Emperor's army. This caused a pause in the war, and the misunderstanding was continuing to increase (1549) when Paul died, and was succeeded by John Maria Giocci, who took the name of Julius the Third. Meanwhile, Charles had been trying to settle the affairs of religion by his own plans, and on his own authority. But while he was thus occupied, Maurice formed an alliance with the King of France, and putting himself at the head of the League, took some cities belonging to Charles, and followed his success with such celerity and skill that Charles was obliged to submit (1552). A treaty was concluded at Passau (Aug., 1552) between the Emperor and the Protestants, whereby full liberty of conscience and public worship was guaranteed to the Protestants within the limits of the empire. This treaty was confirmed by a solemn declaration made at Augsburg (1555), entitled "the peace of religion." With these wars and proceedings Julius troubled himself very little. He did, in fact, nothing important, and left (1555) a personal reputation which was both immoral and contemptible. Julius was succeeded by Marcellus Cervini, who took the name of Marcellus the Second,

but reigned only during a few days, and was succeeded by John Peter Caraffa, who took the name of Paul the Fourth (1555). Paul was so dissatisfied by "the peace of religion" that he quarreled with Charles, but did not produce any effect by his displeasure. Paul subsequently quarreled with other princes, and died (1559), after having spent an intolerant and useless pontificate of about four years. He was succeeded by John Angelo de Medicis, who took the name of Pius the Fourth. Pius re-assembled the Council of Trent, (Easter 1561), and applied himself to checking the spread of heresy. The Council of Trent having terminated its sittings, Pius confirmed its decrees (1564) by a bull. But these decrees were received in Spain and all her dominions with a clause "*saving the rights of the Crown,*" and in France they were never received, because they were considered as derogatory to the rights of the Crown and the liberties of the Gallican Church. Pius soon afterwards died (1565), and was succeeded by Michael Ghislieri, who took the name of Pius the Fifth. The chief event in his pontificate was his ordering the bull called "*in coenâ Domini*" to be read every Thursday before Easter in every parish church throughout the Christian world. This bull excommunicated all princes, and other men in authority, who attempted to circumscribe the civil or ecclesiastical authority

assumed by the Romish Church. But the Kings of France and Spain, the Emperor of Germany, and the Republic of Venice, forbade the publication of this bull; and, after much altercation, the civil power attained its object, and the bull was set aside. By means of Pius, an alliance was concluded between himself, Spain, and France, against the Turks. The allied fleet gained a decisive victory (1571) over the Turks at Lepanto. This event threw some brilliancy on the last days of Pius, who had been otherwise unprosperous. He was succeeded (1572) by Hugh Buoncompagno, who took the name of Gregory the Thirteenth, and whose pontificate is remarkable for nothing important, unless we except his having reformed the calendar (1582). This improvement was received in all Roman Catholic countries, but was rejected by Russia and England. Gregory was succeeded by Felix Peretti, who took the name of Sixtus the Fifth (1585). Sixtus applied himself to the extirpation of the robbers who infested his dominions, and to repairing the financial condition of his State. In both cases he was successful. He improved Rome in various ways, and did more to consolidate the power of the Papacy than any Pope since Nicholas the Fifth. It was mainly owing to the exertions of Sixtus that Philip the Second of Spain sent his great fleet, styled the *invincible Armada*, against England.

The Armada was repulsed by the English fleet (1588), and subsequently destroyed by a storm. No sooner was the news of this failure received by Sixtus, than it is said he prepared to execute a long-intended attempt to seize upon the kingdom of Naples, and to unite it to the dominions of the Church. But in the midst of this and other visions of glory, his relations with Spain and France threw him into perplexities, from which he was relieved (1590) only by death. His three successors, Urban the Seventh, Gregory the Fourteenth, and Innocent the Ninth (Aug., 1590, to Dec., 1591), reigned too short a time to achieve anything important. They were succeeded by Hypolitus Aldobrandini, who took the name of Clement the Eighth (1592). Clement succeeded in his negotiations with Henry the Fourth of France. Henry made public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, and he was acknowledged King by his subjects and by the Pope. Clement annexed by force the Duchy of Ferrara to the Papal State, and published a new edition of the "Vulgate." He was succeeded (April, 1605) for a few days by Leo the Eleventh, and then (May, 1605) by Camillo Borghese, who took the name of Paul the Fifth. Although Paul professed extravagant ideas regarding the exalted rights of the Romish Church, yet he did not succeed in extending them, although he tried to

do so. He was succeeded (1621) by Alexander Ludovisi, who took the name of Gregory the Fifteenth. Gregory founded the college "De Propaganda Fide," which has since been so infamous.* He was succeeded (1623) by Maffei Barbarini, who took the name of Urban the Eighth. Desiring to expel the Spaniards from Italy, he quarreled with the Austrians, who were his best friends. Urban, though talented and ambitious, failed to achieve

* The title of this society was originally *congregatio de propaganda fide* (1622). Those who are unacquainted with Popish arguments might think this society like one of our Protestant Bible Societies. The fact is, however, that every regular Popish society was always formed in secret connexion with some foreign prince, who lent, or was prepared to lend, it an army of soldiers to write its arguments with the sword and with blood. Branches of this society for propagating the Roman Catholic faith were established in several of the Roman Catholic countries in Europe. It was established in Piedmont, where to its title was put the addition, *et extirpandis hæreticis*. The descendants of the Albigenses and Waldenses still continued in the valleys of Piedmont, and were known as the Vaudois. They clung to their ancient religion with tenacity equal to that of the ancient Paulicians. [See Hallam's Mid. Ag., Ch. IX., Part 2.] The propagating and also extirpating society, accompanied by Roman Catholic soldiers from France, Piedmont, and Switzerland, perpetrated three massacres (1655, 1686, and 1696) on the Vaudois, who were again nearly exterminated. But though the Church of Rome was still ready and eager to destroy men merely because they differed from it in their religious opinions, yet throughout the greater part of Europe a remarkable change of opinion had taken place between the times of the former and the latter persecution. On the former occasion (1229) the heretics had no friends except the Count of Toulouse. But on the latter occasion Sweden, England, Holland, Switzerland, and Savoy actively interfered on behalf of the oppressed heretics, and even the tyrannical Louis the Fourteenth of France thought it politic to appear on the side of the injured.

anything important. He was succeeded (1644) by John Baptist Pamfili, who took the name of Innocent the Tenth. During his pontificate the war, famous as "the thirty years' war," was brought to a conclusion. The thirty years' war commenced (1618) by a large portion of the German Protestants banding together for the purpose of defending themselves against Ferdinand the Second of Austria, who was aided by the King of Spain, and who was endeavouring to extirpate the Protestants, and to bring all religions under the authority of the Church of Rome. In the first part of this war the Protestants were beaten (1620), but their cause was befriended by Christian the Fourth of Denmark, who, however, failed (1629) to retrieve their affairs. The cause of religious liberty seemed now almost ruined, when the envy entertained by France against Austria changed the aspect of matters. Richelieu, then Prime Minister of the French, having expelled the Huguenots from France, now entered into a league with Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, for the purpose of checking the success of Austria. Gustavus defeated the Austrians in two general engagements (1631 and 1632), in the latter of which he was killed. The French then put forth their strength, and under Marshal Turenne, gained a decisive victory (1645) over the Austrians at Nord-

lingen. The power of Austria was now exhausted. Spain had ceased to be in reality a first-rate Power. The hope of extirpating the German Protestants was at an end. Negotiations for a peace were opened. Innocent endeavoured with his utmost power to prevent a peace, but he had not means for protracting the war. Accordingly, peace was concluded (1648, 24th Oct.) at Westphalia, between France, Austria, and Sweden. By this peace religious liberty was finally guaranteed to the Protestants. Thus Rome failed in her second grand object—namely, the extirpation of heresy.

The peace of Westphalia constitutes an epoch in the history of Europe, as it put an end to the religious controversy which had so long disturbed Germany, and also as by it was brought about the first recognition of Switzerland and the United Provinces of the Netherlands as independent European States. It constitutes an epoch in the history of Rome, as it marks the abridgement and permanent check of her European Empire. And it constitutes an epoch in the history of the human mind, as it marks the limits beyond which the progress of Protestantism has not extended in Europe. The names of William Chillingworth, John Hales, Thomas Erastus, Peter Bayle, John Leclerc, and Janus Junius Toland, mark the perceptible commencement of “man thinking.”

From this time the progress of liberal opinions and free institutions has been led by infidelity, not by Protestantism. Education and infidelity advanced together, especially in Germany, France, England, and the Netherlands; and, although Christians hold infidelity in abhorrence, yet there is truth in its leading principle, namely, that there is not any available external standard of truth. Every standard that has been adopted by some persons—Reason, the Bible, the Pope, the Church, the Koran, the Vedas, the Bedagat—has been conscientiously rejected by others. Hence it comes to pass that, as a writer of our day has expressed it, “The stronghold of scepticism is impregnable.” It might have been expected that Protestant principles would have afforded a resting-place to those considerate persons who, though hostile to the tyranny and superstitions of the Romish Church, were yet actuated by a spirit of justice. The fact, however, is the reverse. Indeed it was almost impossible that the case should be otherwise. The early reformers, especially Luther, were just as much opposed to the exercise of private judgment as any Pope could be. They imagined that they had adopted the Bible as their guide instead of the Pope, but in reality they adopted only their own deductions from the Bible; and, actuated by the natural in-

solence and domineering spirit of human nature, they acted as if their deductions were infallible, and treated all persons who dissented from them as heretics. Thus, the Reformation was but little better than a change of masters. Those who established reformed churches were as much inclined to punish dissenters within their own jurisdiction as the Roman Catholics had been. The unhappy peasants of Germany who demanded an alleviation of their taxes, and the abolition of their personal slavery,* found as strenuous opponents in Luther and his clerical friends, as in the tyrannical lords and princes who oppressed them. The heretical Church of England burned heretics almost every year during the early period of her existence. It is necessary here only to refer to the fate of Servetus, who (1553) for being a Unitarian, was murdered by the Genevan Magistrates, of whom he was not the subject. This atrocity, however, is remarkable on account of its having led every thinking man who heard of it to reflect whether any degree of faith in our own opinions can justify us in putting a man to death merely because he dissents from us. Several persons, even at that time, arrived at the conclusion that heretics should *not* be capitally punished. Books were written in favour of this conclusion; and it may

* Mosheim, by Reid, p. 578.

with justice be said, that the spirit of toleration rose out of the ashes of Servetus.* But when the advocates of free inquiry came to investigate the claims to genuineness of the Christian Scriptures, for doubting which so many persons had been burned or banished, a great fact came to light. The "orthodox" Mosheim says,† "As to the time *when*, and the persons *by whom*, the books of the New Testament were collected into one volume, there are various opinions, or rather conjectures, of the learned ; for the subject is attended with almost inexplicable difficulties to us of these latter times. It must suffice to know, that before the middle of the *second* century, most of the books comprising the New Testament were in every Christian Church throughout the known world, and were read and regarded as the divine rule of faith and practice." But another writer, no less eminent than Mosheim, expresses this fact in a very different way. After stating all the testimonies regarding the authorship of the Gospels, Strauss says,‡ "Thus these most ancient testimonies tell us, firstly, that an apostle, or some other person who had been acquainted with an apostle, wrote a Gospel history ; but not whether it was identical with that which afterwards came to be circulated in the Church under

* Hallam's Lit. Eur., Part II., Ch. 2.

† Century I., Part 2, Ch. 2.

‡ Life of Jesus, Introduction, Sec. 13.

his name; secondly, that writings similar to our Gospels were in existence, but not that they were ascribed to any one individual apostle, or companion of an apostle. Such is the uncertainty of these accounts, which after all do not reach further back than the third or fourth decade of the *second century*." This fact has never yet been explained away by either Protestants or Roman Catholics. But of course free inquiry did not stop here. The controversies regarding free-will and grace, which soon appeared in the reformed churches, proved that the Scriptures had not put to rest any of the metaphysical difficulties on those subjects, while the experience of all Christians shows that the Scriptures have not given man any practicable rule whereby he can either avoid vice or conquer appetite. The infidels, therefore, rejected the Christian Scriptures as a revelation, because there was not satisfactory proof of their genuineness, nor did they reveal any useful thing that was also supernatural; and further grappling with difficulties, the infidels held that we cannot know anything of which we have not some sensational experience, nor have we anything of this kind regarding the subjects of religion, nor has any book explained the chief difficulties of those subjects, and that hence the highest knowledge to which man can attain is the consciousness of his ignorance;

that all we can know is that very little can be known. It therefore seemed to them that man's position in modern times is not materially different from that in which he seems to have been always, namely, under the impartial and universal providence of the Deity, and that a sincere and constant endeavour towards the attainment of moral purity constitutes the whole religious duty of man. His public and political duty infidels confine to the preservation of human life and property. Every interference beyond this they regard as useless and impertinent. The publication of these opinions was persecuted by both Roman Catholics and Protestants, for the arbitrary Protestant kings, as well as the intolerant priesthood, felt such opinions to be destructive of despotic power. Since the Reformation, therefore, many infidels perished at the stake, the victims of "godless Toryism." As the Roman Catholics had their Jesuits, so the Protestant nations soon had a similar jackal race, namely, the Tories of all countries; persons (as long as their safety permits) who adhere to and follow after kings and despots of all kinds. These Tories laboured to undo the Reformation, to stop the progress of free speech, to abolish representative Government, to establish standing armies, to make each Protestant Church a branch of the Church of Rome, to spread by means of persecution

the doctrine of salvation by church rites, and to hold the labouring classes in subjection by fear. The consequence of these things was that infidels spread widely both in the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Churches, and their increase was accelerated among the Protestants.

While the Reformation was thus accomplishing its destiny, the Church of Rome had been extending her dominion in other parts of the world, and thereby had been, unintentionally, making a cradle for a new offspring of Liberty. When Columbus announced the discovery of America (1493, 15th March) he gave an impulse to European colonization, which has had a greater effect on the moral progress of mankind than any other event on record. Man requires food for his support. He has appetites, sentiments, and perceptions which require some degree of gratification. It has been ascertained that the increase of the human species naturally exceeds the increase of food.* Hence the fundamental law of human happiness is *parsimony*. It has been stated and proved by Adam Smith that parsimony, and not industry, is the immediate cause of the increase of capital.† To this may be added the statement that the increase of parsimony is the foundation of political liberty. The

* Essay on the Principle of Population, by Thos. R. Malthus. Ed., 1803.

† Wealth of Nations, Bk. II., Ch. 3.

possession of more money than is necessary for the supply of a man's daily wants enables him to disregard his superiors in wealth and distinction ; for he who has more money than is sufficient to pay his debts cannot be subject to the immediate control of any man. But vanity or the love of distinction leads the vulgar rich to court the highborn, even though the latter be poor. This leads to extravagance, pride, poverty, and fawning on those who, for the time being, are the leaders or among the leaders of fashionable life. According to some writers the mind of man, both individually and collectively, goes through three stages of belief, namely, belief in the supernatural, when men worship idols and fancy they see the finger of Providence in every event that takes place; belief in metaphysical deductions, when men desire to trace the natural causes of events; and belief in the real or "positive," when men concern themselves with things within their reach, especially the promotion of national wealth and education. When desire for the real takes possession of the mind all impulsiveness and sentimentality cease to have much influence, but individual self-reliance then becomes prominent, and gives man a power for combating the real evils of life. The more selfish and self-relying the individual becomes, the better it is for the state. The habit of following a leader is what generally ruins a mob. So long as

men act only in masses they are easily beaten. The disintegration of egotism is an evil, but it is necessary for preparing the way for individual self-reliance. The fear of being laughed at is the fear most generally spread among mankind (especially the ignorant part) and is a thing most pernicious to their welfare. If the preference of money to display could be made the fashion, it would be the commencement of human emancipation from vainglorious ambition and its most injurious consequences. The prevalence of parsimony has always preceded permanent political liberty, as we see in the cases of Holland, England, and the United States, the only modern nations that ever were really free. But parsimony would become unable to employ itself if there were not something to provide the subject which parsimony accumulates. The next most important law of human happiness, therefore, is *labour*. This forms the chief subject of political economy. But man cannot divide his time between accumulating and toiling, were he to attempt such a thing his strength would be exhausted. It is therefore necessary that he should moderately indulge in *amusement*. This law is much less understood than either of the other two, and the disobedience to it has been the chief source of human misery. None of these laws can be safely obeyed to the exclusion of the others. Man's chief

difficulty is to conquer the tendency which each character has for preferring one of those laws and neglecting the others. The foundation of human misery is poverty ; its chief aggravation is appetite ; and its continuance is mainly caused by irrational selfishness. In the struggle for existence prudence dictates that, if it be feasible, the best thing for the poorer, or (what comes to the same thing) the weaker party to do is to fly from the battle-field and seek existence in other lands where there is room for the poor to live. In fact, the chief resource of the poorer classes in almost every country has been *colonization*. Some countries have left their emigrants to shift for themselves, others have retained authority over their emigrants, but neglected them, and others have both retained authority over their emigrants and meddled in their affairs. Those who leave their emigrants to shift for themselves have at least the merit of not doing them any injury. But in addition to this, the colonists are thereby left to deal with whom they please. This is the most advantageous principle for all persons concerned. The greater the custom a man has the cheaper can be the articles in which he deals. No doubt it sometimes happens that the products of a colony prohibited from dealing with any party except the mother country, come cheaper to the mother country than to any country to which

the mother country sells them. But if, from the commencement of the colony, all countries be permitted a free trade with it, the products of that colony in course of time would most probably come cheaper than they would ever otherwise come, not only to all other countries dealing with it, but likewise to the mother country.* This is not only the principle of free trade, but it is the principle of justice and of rational selfishness. Those who govern their emigrants generally oppress them. They invariably force the colonists to deal exclusively with the mother country. There might be some reason for this exclusive dealing if the country refusing to extend its commerce, could be so strong and prosperous that a successful rival could not co-exist. But such a state of things never yet has been. In the long run, exclusive dealing with a rich colony has served the purpose only of promoting some other trades carried on by other countries. This is not only the principle of protection, but it is the principle of injustice and folly. "Plenty of good land, and liberty to manage their own affairs their own way, seem to be the two great causes of the prosperity of all new colonies."

In the colonization of America the Spaniards led the way. Pedro d'Avila (1514) invaded and conquered

* Wealth of Nations, Bk. IV., Ch. 7.

the northern part of South America, which he called Terra Firma—perhaps from its being particularly subject to earthquakes? Ferdinando Cortes invaded Mexico (1519), took the capital by storm (1521), and reduced the natives to a state of slavery. Not long afterwards, Francisco Pizarro invaded Peru (1531), seized on the King by treachery, promised him liberty on payment of an immense ransom, received the stipulated price, and murdered the King. Pizarro's comrade, Almagro, having required a portion of the territory which he had materially aided in conquering, Pizarro sent an army against him, defeated and took him prisoner, and had him strangled in jail (1538). Pizarro reduced the native Peruvians to a state of slavery so cruel that every year during his "viceroyalty" thousands of them lost their lives working the mines of their native land, and he never scrupled to gratify his avarice and love of display at their expense. The surviving followers of Almagro having been deprived of their estates and excluded from all share in the plunder of Peru, formed a conspiracy against the tyrant, who fell beneath their blows (June 26, 1541), and died invoking the name of "Jesu," and striving to kiss a cross which the dying ruffian had traced with his finger on the bloody floor,—hoping thereby to expiate his murders and robberies. One of Pizarro's officers, Pedro de Val-

divia, conquered (1541) the greater part of Chilè. But when subsequently trying to extend his conquests, his army was defeated and himself killed (1553) by the Araucanians under Caupolican. Laplata was discovered (1513) and taken possession of rather than conquered by Juan D. de Solis, who occupied it as a Spanish province. The Jesuits (1602) tried their hand at government in the department of Paraguay, which they occupied in the name of Spain. They tried to rule the people by means of mechanical occupation and ignorant superstition. In this they were finally unsuccessful. The Portuguese naval officer, Vincent Yanez Pinzon (1500) discovered Brazil, which was soon afterwards colonized.

The principal colonial cities in South America were Bogotá, in Terra Firma ; Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil ; Buenos Ayres, in Laplata ; and Lima, in Peru. These four cities are remarkable for the speed with which they sprung into importance, nor are they less remarkable for the limited progress subsequently made by all of them. Even Mexico after a few years of progress soon became stationary. The consideration of the cause which produced this character in these places is instructive. The conquerors of Terra Firma, Mexico, the Spanish West Indies, and the Spanish part of South America, intermarried

with the natives, and from them arose a creole population, which was held by the Spanish Crown in a condition but little better than that of complete and cruel slavery. All the persons connected with the administration of the colonies, from the viceroys down to the poorest clerks, were sent from Spain; and no matter how bad their conduct to the colonists might be, yet there was no remedy except the expensive and tedious one of applying for relief at the "Council of the Indies" in Spain! Where officials were thus virtually irresponsible they plundered the colonists to almost whatever extent the colonists had means for affording plunder. The poorest official who got an appointment,—especially one at Lima,—was certain to make a fortune, which was almost invariably enjoyed at home in Spain. Nor were the viceroys better than their underlings. Needy lords were glad to repair their fortunes by any means, and there is more than one well-ascertained instance of a viceroy coming to Peru a pauper and returning from it wealthy. In the colonial courts of law justice was bought and sold. The colonial tariff was governed by a home monopoly of the most selfish and ruinous kind. The object of Spain was to make the colonists buy the manufactures and commodities only of the mother country in exchange for the metals and other colonial articles which the mother country desired.

For this purpose one colony was prohibited from trading with another. Any foreigner who attempted to settle among them was liable to capital punishment, and any colonist who dared to trade with any nation except Spain was liable to a similar fate. Nor were the colonists free to apply themselves to any kind of industry they might wish ; even their manufactures and products were prescribed. Lastly, the colonial literature was cautiously restricted, and distilled, as it were, through the Inquisition and the Jesuits, both of which institutions carried tyranny and superstition to a greater excess in South America than in any other place. There rackings, burnings, scourgings, and inquisitorial tortures of every kind were of almost daily occurrence. Under such a system it was difficult for the Spanish American colonies to flourish ; in fact it is questionable whether they were of any real value to Spain, for the mere influx of the precious metals into a country cannot supply the place of industry and manufactures. But they were of use to other countries. The linens of France, of Germany, and of Flanders were exchanged through the medium of Spain for the gold and silver of Chilè and Peru. Other manufactures were also exchanged in a similar manner. But Spain had ceased to manufacture, and thus it came to pass that the Spanish colonies were of more use to other coun-

tries than to Spain. Injustice always ends by punishing itself. In this catalogue of Spanish and Popish crimes there is another to be mentioned which has acquired a world-wide infamy. That part of the New World which Columbus first discovered was difficult to be cultivated by Europeans, owing to the great heat of its climate, and the field and mine labours were too great for even the native American Indians, who, as before stated, perished under those toils by thousands. Unfortunately, the African negro, born under a much more intensely warm climate than is to be found in any part of America, was well known as an article for sale, for the various tribes of Africa have always been in the habit of selling such captives taken in war as were not killed or sacrificed. The Spaniards, ready at the business of increasing evil, set the example (1504) of transporting the African negroes to the Spanish West Indies, there to perform those labours which were too severe for Europeans in that climate. Hence arose the slave trade, infamous for its cruelty ; but it has been often described, and is foreign to this history. By these tyrannical means the authority of the Church of Rome was spread over the greater part of the New World, chiefly through the instrumentality of Spain ; but these pious efforts on the part of Spain were not wholly unselfish.

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Spain was conquered by the Carthagenians, taken from them by the Romans, taken from the Romans by the Vandals, and taken from them (A.D. 712) by the Saracens of Barbary. Out of these various elements there were formed three Spanish States (1290)—namely, the Christian kingdoms of Arragon and Castile, and the Saracen or Moorish kingdom of Granada. The marriage (1469) of Ferdinand of Arragon with Isabella of Castile united the two Spanish Christian kingdoms. A few years afterwards there was a civil war in Granada. Ferdinand, perceiving the opportunity, waged a protracted war (1483 to 1492) against the Moors, whom he succeeded in conquering. At the same time he established a military despotism over his dominions, and being desirous of uniting the three elements of his kingdom as much as possible, he resolved on establishing the Roman Catholic religion in such a manner as would make it the religion of all his subjects without any exception. For this purpose (1483) he established the Inquisition in Spain permanently, and also independently of the Popes, who surrendered the entire conduct of it to an inquisitor-general appointed for life, against whose decisions there was not to be any appeal. Under the line of Spanish inquisitors-general the atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition have obtained a world-wide

infamy. During the first sixteen years of its existence upwards of eight thousand persons were committed to the flames, ninety thousand to various measures of imprisonment, and (most important of all) a hundred thousand Jews banished from the country. The banishment of the Jews gave the commerce and revenues of Spain a blow from which they never afterwards recovered. Of course, under the Inquisition education was all but prohibited. The bulls which gave Ferdinand the countries discovered by his subjects in America gave him, as already stated, more power than the Pope intended. By means of these and the Inquisition Ferdinand was perhaps the most absolute monarch of his time. His successors, Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, were enriched for a time by the gold of Mexico and Peru, but their subjects were strangers to liberty, to industry, and to science. Expensive wars and useless expenses impoverished a country that was not replenished by industry and trade. The system of despotism and intolerance was enforced, and in the reign of Philip the Third the Moors (1609) were banished. This measure may be considered the act of Spanish suicide. From this time the country ceased to be a first-rate European power.

Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, and

Francis Xavier, were both Spaniards. Xavier is famous as being the chief of those Jesuits who (1542) endeavoured to extend the dominions of the Romish Church in Asia. These efforts prospered for a time, but their result must be considered as upon the whole a failure.

The dominion of the Romish Church was established in Brazil by the Portuguese. During a long time after the discovery of that country there were not any gold or silver mines found in it. No revenue, therefore, could be derived from it for the crown, so that it was in a great measure neglected. During this state of neglect it became a great and powerful colony. But before the colonists thought themselves strong enough to resist, Portugal interfered, and greatly diminished their prosperity and retarded their progress.

As the Spaniards were the first to discover America, they claimed all of it as their own. They could not, however, prevent so strong a naval power as Portugal then was from settling in Brazil. But such was the terror of the Spanish name that the other nations of Europe were afraid to attempt the colonization of any other part of America on an extensive scale. The French indeed dared to make a settlement in Florida, but the settlers were murdered by the Spaniards. But the miscarriage of the

Spanish Armada (1588) commenced the declension of the Spanish power at sea, and at length opened the New World to the Protestant powers of Europe.

The English were the first to send Protestant colonies to America. Some of these colonies were planted under very peculiar circumstances, to explain which it is necessary to know the internal state of England.

The Romans conquered a considerable part of England, but (A.D. 448) were obliged to abandon it. After this the Saxons invaded the country, which (827) became a Saxon kingdom. Subsequently, William Duke of Normandy (1066) obtained the English throne, and the Saxons and Normans blended together, the conquered Saxons in course of time forming the predominant national element. In the thirteenth century the English became noted for their commercial enterprise. So early as the fourteenth century there were a great number of heretics in England, and Henry the Eighth did not find any great difficulty in abolishing the Pope's supremacy within his kingdom (1534) and in seizing (1537) on the church lands. This separation was permanently confirmed (1559) by Henry's daughter, Queen Elizabeth, who also established (1601) a law for relieving the poor by compulsory taxation. Under her the prosperity and commerce of the country greatly increased.

It was her navy that repulsed the Armada; and though her rule was almost despotic, yet the middle classes had multiplied, and dissenters were very numerous. Materials were prepared for a struggle between the crown and the industry of the country. Owing to various circumstances the crown had never been able to establish a standing army in England. In order to accomplish this Charles the First attempted to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament. A civil war (1642) ensued. Charles was beaten (1645) and (1649) beheaded. Subsequently his son, James the Second, trying to rule without a Parliament and to re-introduce the Roman Catholic religion into England, was banished (1688) partly by the English people and partly by his son-in-law, William the Third, who was raised to the vacant throne (1689) on the express condition of his governing by means of a representative legislature. The Irish and French strove to restore James to the throne of England, but they were defeated, and the English constitution, as arranged by William, has never since been materially altered. But though the people of England succeeded in obtaining a share in the arrangement of their taxation and the making of their laws, their civil and religious liberties were in a very imperfect state. These liberties were, however, far better than none. All the other prin-

cial European nations were destitute of any liberty, and it is this contrast which seems to have given rise to the great praise bestowed by so many persons on the British constitution in state and church. This *contrast* is certainly very great. The English never suffered the Inquisition to be established among them. In addition to this, though in England, under the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, the condemned heretic suffered death, yet, as the crime of heresy was not either murder or treason, the proceedings, which were only *pro salute animæ*, did not "attaint" the heretic; and consequently he did not forfeit either lands or chattels. This writ, however, was abolished (29 Car. II., Cap. 9, A.D. 1678), and heretics were subjected to only ecclesiastical "correction," which consists of imprisonment not exceeding three years, or fine and pillory. Moreover, in a country where the dissenters or heretics are numerous it is impossible to carry orthodoxy with so high a hand as in a country where heretics are few. Still, though the heretics in England were much less persecuted than in any other European country, yet they were persecuted, and consequently, not many years after the defeat of the Armada, the English heretics began to emigrate to North America. The French had settled at the mouths of the two principal rivers, the St. Lawrence

and the Mississippi, so that the English emigrants were obliged to establish themselves on the coast, and when their numbers increased they had to spread over the continent between those rivers. No gold or silver mines were found there, so that the crown could not derive a revenue from the emigrants, who in fact were rather unfriendly to the English crown, and always looked on the proceedings regarding them in England with an evil eye. Under these circumstances, the colonists of British America were more neglected than any colonists of modern times, and consequently they applied themselves to industry, which is the best kind of wealth.

Not long after the English began to emigrate to North America the Dutch and the Swedes formed settlements there. The State of Virginia was colonized (1607) by the British; New York (1618) by the Dutch; Massachusetts and New Hampshire (1620 and 1623) by the British Puritans; Delaware (1526) by the Swedes; Connecticut (1633) by emigrants from Massachusetts; Maryland (1633) by British Roman Catholics, who were heretics in England; Rhode Island (1636) by emigrants from Massachusetts; North and South Carolina (1663 and 1670) by emigrants from Virginia; New Jersey (1670) by Dutch and Swedes; Pennsylvania (1681) by English Quakers; and Georgia (1732) by the British. Thus

only one of these States, Maryland, was colonized by Roman Catholics, and they never made any great progress. All the other States were colonized by Protestants of some kind ; but chiefly such as were persecuted at home. Of these by far the most remarkable were the Puritans. They colonized Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. The Puritans, persecuted at home, emigrated in part to Massachusetts, where they succeeded in establishing themselves. But no sooner had they done so than they persecuted all their members who differed from them in religious opinions. One of these, Roger Williams (1634), having publicly maintained that "the civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion ; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul," he was banished together with his followers, and obliged to go into the woods of America in the depth of winter. But Williams and his followers formed a settlement in Rhode Island, the first State in the world where the principles of civil and religious liberty were prevalent. These principles, however, soon became prevalent everywhere among the colonists, whose propitious star even then began to usher in that dawn of independence which has already illuminated and blessed a portion of mankind.

In the meantime strange doings and strange

arrangements had taken place between the Popes and the French.

France was conquered by the Romans (B.C. 60), but it became free from them, and (A.D. 481) Clovis laid the foundation of the French kingdom. The country gradually became powerful. From about the fifteenth century there were representative branches of government in Spain (called the *Cortes*), in Germany (the *Diet*), in France (the *States General*), and in England (the *Parliament*). But it was only in England that the representative branch gained the superiority. In all the other countries of Europe military despotisms were established, more or less tyrannical; and only in Germany and France the representative branch of the legislature had any real share in the government. But when (1661) Louis the Fourteenth began to think and to act for himself he proceeded steadily and skilfully in a course calculated to make the crown of France have a completely despotic authority in all matters civil and ecclesiastical within the French kingdom. In his written instructions to the Dauphin, Louis says, "You must be convinced that kings are absolute lords, and have the full and entire disposal of all property, whether in the possession of the clergy or of laymen, and may use it at all times as wise economists." Of this precept Louis set the example. He

held his clergy in absolute command: no prince was ever more virtually and practically head of the established church within his own dominions than he.

Innocent the Tenth was succeeded (1655) by Fabio Chigi, who took the name of Alexander the Seventh. At the commencement of his pontificate he declared very strongly against nepotism, but shortly afterwards (in the phrase of the time) *he became a man*, and filled all the best places of employment both in church and state with his kindred, and dismissing his old friends, suffered himself to be governed by his relations. In his time the contest regarding free-will and predestination continued to be agitated between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. In direct opposition to that passage of Scripture* where Jesus says, "No man can come to me except the Father who hath sent me draw him," and in violation of almost every other text of Scripture upon the subject, Alexander published a bull (1657) condemning the Jansenists and their doctrines. As the Pope and Louis the Fourteenth of France agreed on this point, persecution followed as a matter of course. Those Jansenists in France (which was their stronghold) who did not violate their conscience to please the King and the Pope were deprived of their livings, and either put into

* John vi. 44.

jail or sent into exile. But injustice does not always go unpunished, though the chastiser is not always a virtuous character. Some of the Pope's guard happened to insult the ambassador of Louis at Rome. That imperious tyrant immediately demanded satisfaction, which, as the Pope delayed, Louis proceeded to exact it with a high hand. He seized on the city of Avignon, and ordered troops to march for Italy. These hostilities so terrified Alexander that he submitted, and implored the clemency of the incensed King. Pardon was granted (1664) to the Pope at Pisa, but upon conditions most inglorious and mortifying to his Holiness. Such is the danger of "a miserable and great friendship." Alexander was succeeded (1667) by Giulio Rospigliosi, who took the name of Clement the Ninth. Clement showed a conciliatory inclination towards the persecuted Jansenists, whom he relieved from the severities put on them by his predecessor. He aided the Venetians in their war with the Turks, and when he died (1669) he was regretted by his subjects. His immediate successor, Æmilius Altieri, who took the name of Clement the Tenth, was eighty years of age at the time of his election, and did not perform anything important. He was succeeded (1676) by Benedict Odeschalchi, who took the name of Innocent the Eleventh. His pontificate is chiefly remark-

able for his quarrel with Louis relative to Innocent's attempt to abolish the immunities enjoyed by the foreign ambassadors at Rome. By an old or prescriptive usage the foreign ambassadors there had a right of asylum not only in their palaces, but also within a certain boundary or district round them, where the officers of justice could not enter. These free districts not only afforded shelter to thieves and other bad characters, but also were made places for the sale of contraband articles and for defrauding the revenue. Innocent notified to the ambassadors then at Rome his intention of putting a stop to these abuses, but only according as each of the ambassadors then at Rome should be replaced. This determination he afterwards (1687) repeated in a bull. The tyrannical Louis set the bull at nought, and sent his new ambassador to Rome accompanied by a numerous train of military and naval officers. But Innocent was very unlike Alexander the Seventh. Innocent is represented as a man of austere morals and of inflexible courage. The manifest justice of his cause gave him strength when contending with a prince far more powerful than he. Innocent refused to receive the French ambassador. Upon this Louis seized upon Avignon and threatened to send a fleet with troops to invade the Roman coast. Still Innocent remained firm, and after having re-

mained eighteen months at Rome without being able to see the Pope the French ambassador was obliged to return home with his credentials unopened. Whatever hostile intentions Louis may have entertained towards the Pope were set aside by the hostilities gathering about Louis from the Emperor of Austria and the Prince of Orange, afterwards William the Third of England.* Strange as it may seem, it is now an almost unquestionable fact that William and the Pope's Secretary of State were at this time in communication with each other relative to William's intended invasion of England. But Louis was not without his revenge. He summoned a convocation of the French clergy whereby, and by an edict of Louis (22nd March, 1682), it was affirmed and decreed—(1.) That neither St. Peter or his successors received any power from heaven, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of sovereign States ; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority, nor their subjects freed from the sacred obligation of fidelity and allegiance by the power of the church or the bulls of the Roman Pontiff. (2.) That the decrees of the Council of Constance, which maintained the authority of general councils as superior to that of the Pope's in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the

* Ranke's Popes, Bk. VIII.

Gallician Church. (3.) That the rules, customs, interpretations, and observances which have been received in the Gallician Church, are to be preserved inviolably. And (4.) That the decisions of the Pope, in points of faith, are not infallible, unless they be attended with the consent of the church. During the life of Innocent the quarrel lasted; but the first French ambassador who appeared at Rome after Innocent's death (1689) abandoned the right of asylum. The successor of Innocent was Peter Ottoni, who took the name of Alexander the Eighth. He did nothing worthy of note, and was succeeded (1691) by Anthony Pignatelli, who took the name of Innocent the Twelfth. He successfully resisted the pretensions of Austria in Italy, and was succeeded (1700) by John Francis Albani, who took the name of Clement the Eleventh. Soon after his election the war of the Spanish Succession took place. Clement hesitated before joining any side, but he ultimately came to a rupture with Joseph the First, who beat him, and seized on some of his towns. Clement afterwards quarreled with Victor Amadeus the Second of Savoy, who successfully resisted his arrogant pretensions. Clement was more prosperous in his attacks on the French Jansenists, and had the honour of persuading the Emperor Charles the Sixth to join Venice against the Turks. This alliance led to the

brilliant campaign of Prince Eugene, who defeated the Turks at Petrowaradin, and put an end for ever to the progress of the Turkish conquests in Europe. Clement was succeeded (1721) by Michael Angelo Conti, who took the name of Innocent the Thirteenth, but age and infirmities prevented him from doing anything important. He was succeeded (1724) by Vincenzo Maria Orsini, who took the name of Benedict the Thirteenth. As a priest Benedict had no superior. He was moral, charitable, a visitor of the poor and the hospitals ; lived on bread and vegetables in order to be the more able to relieve the distressed ; but he did not make even an attempt to govern the State of which he had allowed himself to be elected sovereign ; he left government to his favourites entirely. As a private man he was virtuous, but as a Pope he was one of the worst. He was succeeded (1730) by Laurence Corsini, who took the name of Clement the Twelfth. Clement feebly strove to uphold the ancient pretensions of the Romish Church, but failed in his object. He was succeeded (1740) by Prosper Lambertini, who took the name of Benedict the Fourteenth. With all the virtues of Benedict the Thirteenth, the new Pope combined a desire to govern for the good of his subjects. He found the treasury poor and in debt, but by economy and reductions in the public expenditure he replenished

the treasury and re-established a balance in the finances of the state. His love of toleration was remarkable, and he succeeded in settling all differences with foreign powers, and maintaining peace during his reign. He encouraged learning, and constructed fountains and granaries at Rome. During the eighteen years of his government Rome enjoyed peace and prosperity; and half a century after his death his pontificate was remembered and spoken of at Rome as the last period of happiness which the country had enjoyed. He was succeeded (1758) by Carlo Rezzonico, who took the name of Clement the Thirteenth. Clement was virtuous as a private man, but utterly unfit to govern a State. He obstinately, but most unsuccessfully, endeavoured to uphold the ancient claims of the Romish Church in opposition to the fixed resolution of all other sovereigns to be complete masters in their respective kingdoms. Clement was succeeded (1769) by Gian Vincenzo Ganganelli, who took the name of Clement the Fourteenth, and sought for peace as diligently as his predecessor had sought for exaltation. The new Pope was a moral man, and possessed of an enlightened mind. His pontificate is chiefly memorable on account of his having (1773) suppressed the infamous order of Jesuits.

From their commencement as an order, the

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Jesuits had been the servants, spies, hangmen, tormentors, informers, jailers, detectives, and doers of dirty work, for the Romish Church. To them was committed the general management of the Inquisition. By them infidels and heretics were burned, and suspected members of the Church tortured. Before the time of Loyola the Inquisition had fallen comparatively into decay ; but by a special edict of the Pope (1542, 21st July), instigated by Loyola, new inquisitors were appointed, and under the fostering care of the Jesuits the cruelties, horrors, and immoralities of that most accursed institution were revived. Among their other plans for aggrandizing the church, their acquirement of money was conspicuous. It is well ascertained that the Jesuits were by far the richest of the Romish orders. They traded like merchants. They interfered more than any section of the Romish Church in the politics of the various States in which they had obtained a footing, and always on the side of tyranny and of the most oppressive and despotic parties. Their power was chiefly derived from their being the principal confessors of kings and princes, and whatever could flow from a despot came through them. Thus the massacre of the French Huguenots (1572), the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which (1685) banished nearly a million of Protestants from France,

and the overthrow (1709) of the Jansenist establishment at Port Royal, were all caused by the underhand and shabby influence of the Jesuits. In addition to this, their professed office of instructors of youth gave them great power, for it is admitted that during a considerable time they succeeded in educating a vast number of persons whom they kept in a state of mental subordination and tutelage under a cunning and persuasive guardianship. But control is irksome to the nature of man ; it is impossible to suit the human mind to any one custom or system ; sooner or later some men will shake off any control and suffer death rather than be subject to it, and their example will be followed by many others. This the Jesuits experienced. The labouring and middle classes in Spain, Portugal, and Poland held them in the greatest aversion, and regarded them as the chief cause of the political debasement and commercial decay of those countries. In France the lower orders hated them, and there they were also assailed by a new power—namely, the sceptics among the literary men then in France. These were headed by Voltaire, who was ably supported by Diderot, D'Alembert, Rousseau, and the Scotchman, David Hume. In point of mere argument Hume is the greatest of these characters. His philosophy, though celebrated, is not much under-

stood. It may be briefly stated in the following manner :—We never should believe anything until we know the evidence for it, and then only in case we find that it would be *more* improbable that the persons giving evidence should be mistaken than that the event should have happened. But all our grounds of evidence rests on that principle of the human mind which expects similar results from similar causes and circumstances. Thus a child, after striking a spoon against a table, expects to hear a noise each subsequent time it strikes. It is not likely that this inference of the child is derived from any profound and complicated reasoning ; it is much more likely that it is derived from mere instinct and custom. Whatever it may be, it lies at the foundation of all evidence, argument, and probability. But a miracle cannot be an object of instinct or a subject of custom, nor can we ever perceive in it the result of a previously-perceived cause ; hence we never can have evidence sufficient to prove that a miracle took place.* Such was the substance of Hume's attack on Christianity ; but Voltaire assailed it from a position much more patent to common understandings, and much more effective. He stood forward as the advocate of justice and liberty, in opposition to inquisitorial cruelty and Jesuitical

* Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding ; published in 1747.

oppression. Thus when a man named Calas, who lived at Toulouse, was tortured and killed merely for scoffing at a superstitious ceremony, Voltaire wrote on the matter, denouncing it so powerfully that the judgment condemning the man was reversed and a pension granted to his widow; but in addition to this, all France and almost all Europe heard of the transaction. Several other cases of a similar nature were also exposed and denounced in like manner. Voltaire and his followers assailed all the murders, tortures, and religious persecutions caused by the inquisitors, and all the oppressions then existing, and which were aided and advocated by the Papists and Jesuits. In opposition to Jesuitical education, Diderot wrote and published an encyclopædia in which full and free interpretations were given not only of the principal subjects in mathematical and physical science, but also in history, morals, and criticism. Several persons contributed to this work, and hence Voltaire's party were sometimes called "Encyclopædists." At all events Infidelity and Irreligion were arrayed on the side of Justice and Humanity. They were directed by powerful minds, and in course of time almost every man in France distinguished in letters was found on their side. Infidelity was fashionable just as Popery had been. Witty scoffs at superstition were relished

in the higher circles at Paris. Almost every year books were published attacking the Romish Church, some by argument, others by satire, others by denouncing her cruelties. In the midst of all this the Romish Church seized and burned some infidel books, excommunicated some persons and censured others, and insulted the dead bodies of some infidel writers ; but no great or effective work was written in her defence, and the public soon identified religion with ignorance, and orthodoxy with stupidity. The first acts of overt hostility, however, came from the ministers of despotic kings, who were irritated by the political interference of the Jesuits.

The first blow was struck in Portugal. In that country the Jesuits and the nobility were tyrants. An adventurer, Sebastian José Carvalho (afterwards Marquess of Pombal and Count of Oeyras), by his great economical and administrative abilities, succeeded in making himself useful and even necessary to the King, Joseph the First. Carvalho replenished the royal exchequer, and developed the national industry to such an extent as never had been previously experienced in Portugal ; and when Lisbon was destroyed by an earthquake (1755) Carvalho's savings and ability caused Lisbon to be rebuilt, and preserved the progress of national prosperity. These circumstances confirmed the ascen-

dancy of Carvalho over the King, notwithstanding the opposition of the Jesuits and the useless nobility. Soon afterwards (1757) Carvalho removed from court the Jesuit confessors and replaced them by ordinary priests. While he was waiting for an opportunity for doing something more decisive against them, an attempt made to assassinate the King (1758) enabled Carvalho to persuade Joseph that the Jesuits and the principal members of the nobility were the parties who caused the attempt against his life. Taking advantage of this persuasion, Carvalho put to death the chiefs of the aristocracy, and caused the Jesuits in Portugal, Brazil, and Paraguay to be suddenly put on board ships prepared for the purpose, and landed on the Pope's dominions to live or starve as the case might be.

In France the second blow was struck. The Premier of the day and the last man of talent employed by Louis the Fifteenth was the Marquess Choiseul, who belonged to the "Encyclopædists." The Jesuits in the French West Indies had been speculating, as usual, in commercial matters. The English, who were at war with the French, seized the Jesuits' goods, which were ostensibly in the name of Father Lavalette. He became bankrupt for the large sum of three millions of livres. His creditors applied to the Parliament

of Paris, and that assembly perceiving the transaction, condemned the sworn adherents of poverty to pay the debt. The wealth and trickery of the society excited general indignation throughout France, and the provincial Parliaments declared against the Jesuits, who were expelled (1764) from the country by a royal edict, and their property confiscated. Not long afterwards the King of Spain (1767), the King of the Two Sicilies (1768), the Duke of Parma (1769), the Emperor of Austria (1773), and the King of Sardinia (1773) suppressed the society and expelled the Jesuits from their dominions. At the earnest solicitation of the French, Spanish, and Neapolitan ambassadors, Clement the Fourteenth issued a bull (1773, 21st July) whereby the Jesuits' society was suppressed, its statutes annulled, its ministers who had been ordained priests, were degraded to secular priests, and its other members were released from their vows entirely. A few months after the issuing of this bull, Clement, who was in robust health, appeared to be taken suddenly ill, lingered for a short time, and (1774) died, it was believed, the victim of poison administered to him by Jesuits. He was succeeded by Angelo Braschi, who took the name of Pius the Sixth. Thus failed the third attempt at establishing Roman Catholic despotism over the world.

When Pius the Sixth commenced his pontificate a new epoch was about to take place in the history of mankind. The struggle for Protestant toleration had been crowned with success at the peace (1648) of Westphalia. The successive struggles of Spain, Austria, and France for political ascendancy had ended in failure at the peace (1763) of Paris, which preserved in Europe what is called "the balance of power." But during a considerable time among the labouring and middle classes there had been growing a strong desire for their obtaining some degree of influence in their respective countries. This influence they sought to obtain chiefly by the addition to their respective governments of a branch of legislature in which the people should be represented. This movement of the people for representative rights was commenced by the Anglo-Saxon colonies of North America. Their moving spirit was Thomas Jefferson. Before his time (1743 to 1826) the Infidel or Freethinking principles had existed among the colonists. Jefferson held them. In his notes on the State of Virginia, published during his life-time, he says, "Ignorance is preferable to error, and he is less remote from the truth who believes nothing than he who believes what is wrong." And regarding a syllabus of the New Testament which he had drawn, Jefferson when writing to a friend says,

“But while this syllabus is meant to place the character of Jesus in its true and high light as no impostor himself, but a great reformer of the Hebrew code of religion, it is not to be understood that I am with him in all his doctrines. I am a Materialist; he takes the side of Spiritualism; he preaches the efficacy of repentance towards forgiveness of sins; I require a counterpoise of good works to redeem it, &c., &c. It is the innocence of his character, the purity and sublimity of his moral precepts, the eloquence of his inculcations, the beauty of the apologues in which he conveys them, that I so much admire, sometimes, indeed, needing indulgence to Eastern hyperbolism. My eulogies, too, may be founded on a postulate which all may not be ready to grant. Among the sayings imputed to him by his biographers, I find many passages of fine imagination, correct morality, and of the most lovely benevolence; and others again of so much ignorance, so much absurdity, so much untruth, charlatanism, and imposture, as to pronounce it impossible that such contradictions should have proceeded from the same Being. I separate, therefore, the gold from the dross, restore to him the former, and leave the latter to the stupidity of some and roguery of others of his disciples.” Jefferson had always advocated the right of every nation to

be independent, and of every people to be taxed only by their representatives. His great power of transacting business, his scholarship, his capacity for expressing himself with precision and ease, and his incomparable legislative genius rendered him almost at the outset of his career (1769) the leader of the colonial democrats. To him it was mainly owing that his countrymen declared themselves independent of foreign power; and it was owing to his influence and exertions that they successfully maintained the great democratical principles of their revolution against the efforts of a monarchical and aristocratical faction which for a time was at the head of their affairs. His public life extended over a period of forty-two years (1767 to 1809), during which time he was the founder of modern democracy; the advancer of modern municipal government, whereby each State, each town, each district taxes and governs itself; and the originator of that movement in behalf of the people's rights which inflicted the heaviest blow on the Church of Rome. In return, his character has been assailed both at home and abroad by all the fabrications of malice, slander, bigotry, and falsehood. Still his influence on human progress towards free government is much greater than that of any other individual in America or even in Europe. The United States had not been taxed

by the mother country, as before stated ; but George the Third of England, in an evil hour for his own fame, insisted on taxing the colonists. Accordingly the English Government (1765) imposed on them a stamp tax. This the colonists resisted on the ground that they were not represented in the Parliament which taxed them. The tax was repealed (1766), but others were subsequently imposed. These were resisted. Their resistance led to hostilities (1775), and Jefferson at once proposed separation as the best and only remedy. His proposal was adopted. Thirteen of the colonies, since well known as the United States, formed themselves into a federal representative republic, and a declaration drawn by Jefferson was passed by their Congress almost unanimously. By this document (1776, 4th July) they proclaimed themselves independent, and they were acknowledged as such by England (1783) after a war which lasted nearly eight years. In this war the Americans were aided by the French and Spaniards, who seized on the opportunity of revenging themselves on England. But the French and Spanish officers who returned to their country when the war was over brought with them a love of representative institutions and a desire to see them established at home. This desire they communicated to others, and Pius, who endeavoured to pursue a peaceable

and conciliatory policy both at home and abroad, soon found himself in troubles to which his predecessors had been strangers. His predecessors had indeed coped with princes and slaves, with feudal lords and beggarmen, but never with public opinion, because, as there was not a middle class in their day, there was not a public opinion to contend with ; but if there had been such the Papacy never could have obtained the absurd influence it possessed under Gregory the Seventh, Innocent the Third, and Boniface the Eighth, nor could such an institution as the unjust and immoral Inquisition ever have been suffered to exist even for a moment. The progress of the middle classes in wealth is identical with the progress of the human race in knowledge and virtue. Those who are employed in earning merely their daily support have not leisure to enlighten their minds or to obtain that portion of human enjoyment which is essential to morality. Competence and virtue are unable to be separated in human life. Without competence no man can be above temptation, and without virtue no man can preserve his fortune. Those on the other hand who are born wealthy and have no serious cause for anxiety cannot bring themselves to undergo that self-education in the world which is more valuable than the money, the influence, or the fame which it

may acquire. The existence of a middle class strong enough to maintain its rights is at once the strength of all free nations and the cause of their being free, while its absence is at once the weakness of all despotisms and the cause of their existence. Under whatever despotic government the people are most impoverished and oppressed there, if they get the upper hand, they will be least able to regulate themselves and their affairs. In France the people were thoroughly impoverished and degraded by the despotism of Louis the Fourteenth and his successors. France was at once the greatest military power in Europe and the first to become bankrupt. The financial difficulties of the Government compelled the King, Louis the Sixteenth, to assemble the representatives of the people, the States-General, who, during more than a century and a-half (1614 to 1789), had been excluded from all share in the Government. The States-General insisted on certain reforms, which were assented to with great reluctance by the King, who manifested evident symptoms of insincerity. The people rose, deposed the Sovereign, attacked their oppressors, abolished the old Government, and killed about four thousand of the privileged classes. This bloodshed, however, was far less than that perpetrated in Spain by the kings and the Inquisition on heretics; and less than

that inflicted in France by Louis the Fourteenth on his suffering and discontented subjects. The despots of Europe made war on France in order to support their system of misrule. They were defeated, however, and their efforts so exasperated the French revolutionists that they beheaded Louis the Sixteenth, and formally abolished (1793) the Christian religion in France. During this war (1792 to 1802) the army became the most powerful body in the state, and (1799) Napoleon Bonaparte re-established in France a military despotism nearly as bad as the old system which had been subverted.

During the first years of the French revolution Pius condemned the abolition by the republicans of the exemption from taxes which the clergy had enjoyed, but he abstained from directly interfering in the political business of the French. This, however, was only for a time. The interest of the religious tyrant was too closely united with that of the civil despots around him to permit him to adhere to his pretended neutrality, and whatever might be his natural disposition, his habits and education as a priest, a cardinal, and a pope, had necessarily made him a fit representative of the ancient Italian soothsayer who* was a tyrant, the abettor of the ruling powers, and one who always

* Niebuhr's Rome, vol. i., p. 139.

tried to keep the people in chains. Pius joined the European despots (1793) who were in league against France, and he increased his military force. The French invaded Northern Italy (1796), and Bonaparte defeated the Pope's army on the banks of the Senio. Pius then sued for peace, which was granted to him on conditions which the papist did not fulfil. The Infidel Government of France ordered Berthier (1798) to march on Rome. Pius being vanquished in the field of battle was afraid to oppose the French army, and issued orders which might have carried the appearance of humanity if the person who issued them had not been powerless. Berthier entered Rome (1798, 10th February,) with his army, took possession of the castle called St. Angelo, and fixed his own residence in the Quirinal palace. Pius remained in the Vatican, which was seized and pillaged by the French soldiers. Pius besought them to let him, now an old man, die where he was. They replied that he could die anywhere. They plundered his very chamber in his presence, and even the ring he wore they took from his finger. Rome was formally declared (15th) a republic, and (20th) Pius was ordered to leave Rome. He was taken to Valence on the Rhone, where he died (1799, August,) a prisoner, and was succeeded (1800, 14th March) by Gregorio Barnaba Chiaramonti, who took the name

of Pius the Seventh. At this time Bonaparte, who was the military chief of France, was anxious for a concordat with Rome. During the previous eight years there was virtually no established church in France, and the attempt to rule ignorant men by the military and a police force had proved a failure. Those who had pulled down the privileged classes had not raised the labourers. The French Infidels, like all those who have condemned Christianity entirely, have not done justice to that religion. It was the first influence which gave men the idea that all men are created *morally equal*; that no men should be *masters* ;* that slavery is a thing contrary to justice, and that it is the duty of the rich to assist the poor. Moreover, Christianity is a progressive system which never has excluded the propriety of leaving its details to be suited to circumstances ; and the proclamation by Locke that the right of every man to life and liberty is *an inalienable right*,† has completed the theory of just government on Christian principles. This moral equality of all men had been recognised by even the Church of Rome, which taught that all men who were saved were saved by the superstition of the Church of Rome ; and that though none outside her pale could be saved, yet that such as were saved, both the poor and the rich,

* Matthew xxiii. 10.

† Treatise on Civil Government ; Bk. II., Ch. 4, 1690.

were saved by one and the same system of superstition. As a means of government, if not a "means of grace," Bonaparte entered into negotiations with the new Pope. A concordat was signed (1801, 15th July,) and ratified by Pius (1801, 14th August,) whereby it was agreed that the Romish Church should be re-organised in France, but in a manner practically independent of Papal control, and subject in all essential matters to Bonaparte's government. In a few months afterwards (1802, 18th April) the churches in France were re-opened, and Sunday observed in the old way.

Pius enjoyed tranquillity at Rome for a few years; but the friendship of a tyrant, especially a military one, is always "miserable." Bonaparte, who had been crowned at Paris by Pius (1804), professed himself the protector of the Church against heretics and schismatics, which protectorate had been filled, he said, by his predecessors since the time of Charlemagne, and acting as such protector, Bonaparte seized on Ancona (1805) to prevent its falling into the hands of the English or the Russians! A quantity of letter-writing and negotiation followed this event. The Pope's remonstrances were answered by threats. Rome was occupied (1808, Feb.) by a French force under General Miollis. The Papal territory was subjected to a system of

forced taxation, and the Papal Government was openly insulted by all those whom its tyranny had rendered disaffected. Pius, fearing violence, confined himself to his palace on the Quirinal Hill. At last Napoleon (1809, 17th May) issued a decree from Vienna, whereby he resumed the grant made to the Popes by his illustrious predecessor Charlemagne, and united the remainder of the Roman States to the French empire. He gave to the Pope only a pension of two millions of francs a year, and the palaces at Rome usually occupied by the Popes. To this, however, Pius would not tamely submit, but on the contrary excommunicated (10th June) all the perpetrators of this "invasion" of the holy see. But his effort only hastened his downfall. Miollis took Pius and made him a prisoner (1809, 5th July) in which capacity he was forced to dance attendance on his "protector" during four years, all which time he underwent almost every sort of insulting and tiresome treatment which a powerful and vulgar mind could inflict. But Napoleon having tried (1812) to conquer Russia, failed in the attempt. Shortly afterwards Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Sweden joined against him. He was irretrievably overthrown at Leipsic (1813) and in the campaign which followed that event. The allies took Paris (1814, 31st March), and

Napoleon was forced to abdicate the throne of France. The overthrow of Napoleon at Leipsic caused him to let Pius return to Italy (1814, 22nd January), but Pius did not proceed to Rome. He waited at Cesena observing the course of political events, still dreading the possibility of his master's return to power. He was not very long kept in a state of suspense. The abdication of the great tyrant (1814, 11th April) left the mind of the little tyrant at ease, and Pius entered Rome (24th May) amidst the acclamations of his ignorant, penniless, and demoralised subjects.

The first acts of Pius after his restoration were to restore (7th August) the Society of the Jesuits, to establish the old system of secret proceedings in criminal matters, to restore to the ecclesiastical courts their jurisdiction over laymen, and "last, not least," to re-organise the *Inquisition*! Thus stale, persecuting Popery, with its old slaves, chains, idols, dungeons, prisons, torturing-machines, surpliced ruffians, trumpery ware, chattels, gimcracks, and paraphernalia of tyranny and superstition, was once more put together, and set going, but with its power much impaired and its splendour very much diminished.

At the commencement of this history we saw the Pope no longer able to attempt the assertion of that

authority over temporal monarchs, which had been dreamed of by some of his predecessors. It was with difficulty that he established his title to the Papal chair, and it was only gradually that he rendered himself monarch of Rome and her small territory. By degrees his empire became enlarged, and he was recognised as the spiritual chief of nearly all Europe, part of Asia, and all Spanish America. In Europe, however, a part of this empire was wrested from him at the treaty of Passau. Yet even then his spiritual dominion extended over a far larger extent of country than that which formed the Roman Empire at its greatest extent. In an evil hour for himself he endeavoured to recover what he had lost. The bloodshed and misery caused by the thirty years' war were mainly owing to the selfishness and ambition of the Popes. But the peace of Westphalia, the fatal issue of that war, showed mankind that there was not any real connexion between Divine Providence and the Papal pretensions. Rome lost the greater part of Germany, England, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and Holland. The peace of Westphalia marks the limits of the Papal power; and though her place was not filled by any other spiritual potentate, yet her fall was not on that account rendered less decided. With that event the Papal power resembles a mighty river which, after

having overflowed its banks far and wide, begins to ebb at that point, leaving the land which it had flooded moist, slimy, and destitute of useful vegetation. The efforts of the Jesuits to re-establish the Pope's authority over the separated nations proved a failure. In the meantime Protestant colonization in America raised a new obstacle to the realisation of Papal dreams regarding universal empire. In addition to this, the tyranny of the Roman Catholic kings of Europe irritated humanity and drove their subjects to a state of desperation, the fertile source of infidelity and revolution. Then the very existence of the Papal power was threatened. During two pontificates Rome was obliged to struggle for life. That struggle is not yet over. She is not yet safe. After three failures, Popery was started for a fourth trial of strength, and here it is necessary to show the state of Popery at this time abroad as well as at home.

The French revolution commenced (1789, 14th July) with the capture of the Bastille by the republicans of Paris, headed by Camille Desmoulins; and the French revolution terminated (1815, 14th July) with the surrender of Napoleon to Mr. Maitland, captain of the British ship *Bellerophon*. This revolution is said to have changed the state of Europe. Let us consider to what extent. Firstly, the political state

of Europe before the revolution was one of numerous and almost universal despotisms. Russia, Austria, Spain, Prussia, and Turkey, were all absolute monarchies, without even the shadow of representative government. France, Denmark, Sweden, and some of the German states had that shadow, but nothing more. The wars which the chief nations of Europe had waged against the French republic, and in which for the most part they had been unsuccessful, had terrified them a good deal. But when Napoleon had trampled on French liberty, and when he had been overthrown in the war with Russia, the political state of Europe was in the main identical with what it had been before the revolution, except that the desire for representative government was much stronger and more generally spread among the *people* of Europe. Secondly, all the European nations maintained a determined opposition to the doctrine of free-trade in commerce. They debarred themselves from exchanging their own products for the products of the rest of the world as much as possible. They relieved the poor as little as possible. They afforded as little encouragement to education as possible. They restrained the liberty of the press as much as possible. The severance of ranks was as complete as possible. Thirdly, the resources of the European states were not increased. No new

outlet for industry was found. Fourthly, the ecclesiastical state of Europe was unchanged in every respect, except that the revolution had swept away the power of the Inquisition. It would, therefore, be difficult to say in what respect the state of Europe was materially changed. So far, however, as regarded the Church of Rome there was a change. Theretofore the leading power of Europe, whether Spain, Austria, or France, had been a Roman Catholic power; but the case was now different.

The greater number of the various little states composing Russia were united (A.D. 862) under Ruric, who may be regarded as the first czar. The Greek Church was introduced into Russia (976) by Vladimir. The country was much disturbed by civil wars. Parts of it were conquered by the Poles, and other parts by the Tartars. But Ivan Basilovitch defeated the Tartars, and (1462) established the independence of Russia. The kingdom was increased (1643) by the conquest of Siberia, and the power of the crown was rendered despotic (1650) by the destruction of the power of the nobility. Peter the First (1682) introduced discipline into the army, and the arts and manufacturers of Europe into the country. From this period Russia began to interfere in European politics, and seized on the greater part of Poland. Although Napoleon had defeated the

Russian armies in every general engagement of importance, yet Russia was the only continental power which successfully resisted his invasion; and from the period of his abdication (1814, 11th April) Russia became the leading power of Europe. As the only country not infected with democratic opinions, and as the head and stronghold of the Orthodox Greek Church, Russia has openly declared that her "mission" is to reduce all Europe to order under despotic government, with Russia for its head. This headship, of course, implied the elevation of the Greek Church over the Church of Rome. The leading state of Europe, therefore, became a state with a church opposed to the papal pretensions.

The pontificate of Pius witnessed the final defeat of the efforts made by the Irish Roman Catholics to throw off the dominion of England. To aid these efforts the Popes had used every means in their power, and it would be difficult to specify an instance of more heartless selfishness than their conduct towards Ireland. The narrative is worthy of record.

During the reign of Henry the Second of England some needy British adventurers invaded Ireland, defeated the barbarous forces opposed to them, and brought the country under the civil authority of Henry, and the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope (1172). The Irish rebelled several times, but they

were defeated by the English, and their leaders were excommunicated by the Pope, who always upheld the tyranny of England until Henry the Eighth subverted the Pope's authority in that country. Then his holiness joined the Irish Roman Catholics, but he did not succeed in doing them any permanent good or the English any permanent injury. James the First (1603 to 1625) introduced colonies from England and Scotland into that country. Of these colonies the most important was Londonderry. The colonists were Protestants, and were opposed to the mass of the people, who were Roman Catholics. The colonists thus formed a sort of garrison in the country, and always preserved some strongholds for the English. During the reign of Charles the First a rebellion (1641) involved Ireland in a civil war, in which the Pope granted dispensations and indulgences to the rebels, as if they had been "crusaders," but the whole island was subdued (1649) by Oliver Cromwell. The country remained quiet until the banished King James the Second came there (1689) with an army of French soldiers. The Irish Roman Catholics joined him, and the Pope interfered in his behalf. Their united forces were unable to take the Protestant town of Londonderry. Their armies were beaten by those of William in every general engagement. At last, Limerick, the only remaining strong-

hold in the interest of James, surrendered (1691) to William's general, Godart Deginckel, and the power of the Irish Roman Catholics passed away for ever. But the Irish Protestants endeavoured to obtain some degree of national liberty ; and, taking advantage of the disasters which befel the English during the American war, they forced from England a recognition of Irish parliamentary independence (1782, 21st June). One of the Irish leaders in Parliament, Mr. Flood, proceeded to turn this important victory to advantage by proposing to reform the Irish House of Commons, the members of which were for by far the greater part returned from close boroughs. His bill was rejected (1783, 29th Nov.), and all improvements consequently ceased. The Irish Protestants rebelled (1798), but they were betrayed almost everywhere by their Roman Catholic associates. One of the insurgents, Henry Munro, defeated the royal forces at Saintfield (9th June), but he was defeated shortly afterwards at Ballynahinch (13th), taken prisoner, and (17th) hanged at Lisburn. The Roman Catholic priests almost universally discountenanced the rebellion, which was crushed, and Ireland was deprived of her Parliament (1800). The Irish Roman Catholics, however, remained very disaffected towards England, but an effectual stop was put to their efforts by the institution (1822, 5th Aug.) of the Irish police

force. Constables were distributed all over the country, and they seized on turbulent persons, and those who committed violence. The persons so seized were either hanged or transported, according to the nature of their crimes, and the national spirit became virtually extinct.

The same year (1814) which restored Pius the Seventh to the papal chair restored Ferdinand the Seventh to the throne of Spain. Both had been prisoners of and trampled on by Napoleon. The father of Ferdinand was ruled by a favourite named Manuel Godoy, and the young prince was kept in a state of dependance, seclusion, and humiliation. When about twenty-three years of age, Ferdinand, in order to free himself from the state of thralldom in which he was held by his father and Godoy, wrote (1807, 11th Oct.) to Napoleon requesting protection. Napoleon seized on both Ferdinand and the King his father (1808, 10th May), and "protected" Ferdinand by putting him in jail, or at least in a state of captivity.

When the news of Ferdinand's captivity reached South America it immediately led the Creole population to think of striking a blow for independence. To this the Pope and all the South American priests, monks, and friars were opposed, and did everything in their power to keep the colonists in subjection to

Spain, well knowing that civil liberty is the natural enemy of Popish superstition. Previously, however, new ideas crept in among the Spanish colonies. Several democratic books were circulated in spite of the Inquisition, and at Bogotá some strong spirit had printed (1796) Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man!" The first decisive revolutionary movement was made at Caracas (1810, 19th April). The Captain-General was deposed and a congress assembled to organise a new government for Venezuela. Similar proceedings took place (20th August) at Bogotá, and the patriots were successful for about two years. A very violent earthquake took place in Venezuela two years afterwards, on the very day and hour (19th April) on which the revolution had taken place. The coincidence was seized by the clergy to represent that calamity as a visitation on the patriots. Priests, monks, and friars were stationed in the streets of Caracas, La Guayra, and Merida, vociferating among ignorant multitudes in a state of alarm, while the royalist troops were getting possession of the stronghold. These Roman Catholic priests and bigots endeavoured to preserve that item of the old Roman Catholic mythology, namely, that retributive punishment would come on their enemies, just as when the potato disease happened to take place in Ireland the same year (1845) that the grant of

money was made to the Roman Catholic college at Maynooth, the English Tories endeavoured to connect the two events, and out of them to make what may be called the *Maynooth myth*. In a few months Venezuela was again in the hands of the royalists and the priests, who revenged themselves on the patriots in a ferocious manner. In the course of the same year, however, Simon Bolivar came forward as the leader of the Venezuelan patriots (1812, Dec.), and though he was only twenty-nine years of age, yet he even then showed himself a first-rate general and a man of great legislative capacity. The expedition failed, as did likewise a second and a third attempt. Bolivar sailed from his refuge to Barcelona, and collected a force (1816, December) for a fourth effort. He immediately marched against the royalists, commanded by Morillo, whom he defeated (1817, February). Bolivar was then recognised as supreme chief and captain-general of the Venezuelan patriots. After two years of constant war Bolivar gained a decided superiority over the royalists. The Congress of the Venezuelan Republic was then solemnly installed, and Bolivar resigned his office of supreme chief (1819) into the hands of the Congress. He was soon after elected President until the enemy should be expelled. He then marched to the assistance of the New Granada

patriots, in which he was ably supported by Antonio J. Sucre, and by English and Irish volunteers. At Carabobo, near the city of Valencia, Bolivar defeated the royalists with immense slaughter and the loss of all their artillery and baggage (1821, June). This decisive victory ended the war in Venezuela and New Granada, except the province of Quito, which was liberated by the great victory obtained by General Sucre over the royalists (1822, 24th May) at Pichincha, one of the Andes overlooking the city of Quito. Soon after this event Brazil became independent of Portugal (1822, 12th Oct.) without almost any bloodshed.

In the meantime a war for independence had commenced (1810, 26th May) at La Plata almost as soon as at Venezuela. After various vicissitudes, the royalists received two defeats (1813) from General José de Sanmartin, from which they never recovered, and the country was cleared of them (1814) a few months afterwards.

The colonists of Chilè also endeavoured to form themselves (1812, April) into an independent republic; but a royalist force from Peru (1814) invaded Chilè, and forced the patriot army, under Bernard O'Higgins, to retreat across the Andes to Mendoza, where they were received by Sanmartin, who, however, was unable, from want of soldiers, to

immediately attempt the expulsion of the royalists. At length, after two years of preparation, Sanmartin crossed the Andes and (1817, 12th Feb.) defeated the royalists at Cachabuccho. The liberating army entered Santiago, and O'Higgins was chosen first president of Chilè. The royalists from Peru again invaded Chilè, but were defeated (1818, 5th April) by Sanmartin on the plains of Maypù, and they never again were able to oppose the independents of Chilè in the field.

But as the liberty of Chilè was only imperfectly established so long as Peru was under the dominion of Spain, it was resolved to send an army under Sanmartin to aid the independents of Peru. At the same time it was necessary to make head against the naval power of the royalists, and accordingly the Hon. Thomas Cochrane, afterwards Lord Dundonald, was appointed admiral of Chilè. The independents' fleet was in a very poor condition, but the courage and genius of Lord Dundonald more than compensated the deficiency. With only three hundred and eighteen men in an unseaworthy ship, Lord Dundonald (1820, 2nd Feb.) attacked, stormed, and in a few hours took Valdivia, manned by about eight hundred soldiers and equipped with one hundred and twenty-eight guns. This was the strongest fortified place in Spanish America, and the exploit

was unsurpassed in the whole history of war. Subsequently (1820, 5th Nov.) he cut out the *Esmeralda* frigate from the very harbour of Callao, and thereby he destroyed the naval power of the royalists. Soon after this the liberating army from Chile entered Peru, and at Lima (1821, 28th July) Sanmartin issued the proclamation of Peruvian independence.

But Sanmartin was of opinion that the best sort of government for the Peruvians would be a constitutional monarchy, while Bolivar was opposed to monarchy in any shape. After Sanmartin had held the office of Protector for little more than a year the royalists became so strong that the independents were obliged to call in the aid of Bolivar. As he and Sanmartin differed in politics, the latter resigned (1822, 20th Sept.) the protectorate of Peru and retired to France. The Government of Peru fell into a state of anarchy, the royalists obtained a superiority by land. Bolivar was chosen dictator, and after two years of great distress and difficulty, he succeeded in gaining (1824, 2d Aug.) a slight advantage over the royalists at Junin. In order to re-organise Government, he was obliged to return to Lima, but in about four months afterwards his lieutenant, Sucre, defeated the royalists (9th Dec.) decisively and irretrievably on the plains of Ayacucho. Almost immediately afterwards (1825,

10th Feb.) Bolivar resigned the dictatorship, and from that time South America has been independent of Spain and no longer a slave to Rome.*

With these foreign events European disturbances contributed towards reducing the power of Rome. The feeling of discontent with her insolence and arbitrary assumptions, which had produced so considerable a part of the French Revolution, still operated silently and powerfully. In the Papal States, in Piedmont, and in the Neapolitan States, numerous bodies of conspirators were formed against the despotic governments existing in those States, and against the Austrian garrisons in Italy. These conspirators called themselves the "Carbonari," and endeavoured to combine the discontented in all the Italian States against the native tyrants and the Austrians. Pius proceeded (1817) to persecute the Carbonari, and sent many of them to prison; but his "paternal" proceedings were checked by the disturbances which took place in Spain (1820), where Ferdinand had been oppressing his subjects and had restored the Inquisition. Ferdinand was taken prisoner by the Spanish Liberals, and it was only by the interference of an army from France that the worthless monarch was delivered (1823) from his outraged sub-

* Since 1824 the number of German emigrants to Peru has been rapidly increasing, and the consequent mixture of Teutonic blood with the Peruvians must beneficially influence the destinies of the Republic.

jects ; but the Inquisition had been abolished (1820), and no one ventured to set it at work in Spain again.

But there were other things besides wars and revolutions which diminished the Papal power. Protestant emigration began to take place again. The great importance of this has been already exemplified in the case of the United States. But even almost every kind of emigration is important. In fact, the history of man might be described as a series of settlements made at places fit for agricultural or mercantile traffic. If at any of these places the populace obtain a permanent footing of independence the place becomes powerful, and for ever influences the destiny of mankind, as in the case of Athens, Rome, England, Holland, and the United States. But if either a despotic monarch or (still worse) absolute oligarchs obtain the upper hand, the place is sure never to possess power for any great length of time, and never to have more than a temporary influence on mankind, as in the case of Egypt, Persia, Sparta, Carthage, Spain, and Poland. There have not been any settlements in modern times so remarkable for their prosperity as some of those made by England ; and a short time before the death of Pius the Seventh Protestant England began to send free emigrants to her Australian Continent. The place thus pre-occupied against

Rome was colonised under the following circumstances :—

New Holland was first made known (1606, March) to Europe by the Dutch, who coasted along its western shore. The eastern part of the island was unknown until it was explored (1770) by Captain James Cook. By his advice the English formed a settlement on the east side of the island for the purpose of sending criminals there to pass the time of their servitude. This settlement was commenced (1788, 26th January) under the superintendence of Arthur Phillip, at Port Jackson. During the five years (ending Dec., 1792) of his governorship he experienced much difficulty in making the lazy and disorderly convicts contribute towards supporting themselves. John Hunter (7th Aug., 1795, to Sept., 1800), Philip G. King (Sept., 1800, to Aug., 1806), and William Bligh (Aug., 1806 to 1809) were not much more successful. At one time the colonists feared they would be annihilated by famine, and numbers of them had become so disorderly that when Governor Bligh attempted to put an end to the vicious system of selling rum, which had been carried on there for some time, the sellers rose, seized on the governor, and kept him a prisoner until relieved by his successor, Lachlan Macquarie. Under Governor Macquarie (1809 to 1821) order

and subordination were established, and the foundation was laid of the colony's great prosperity. By him the convicts were beneficially employed in making roads, and the colonists began to discover the wealth they might acquire by turning their attention to the exportation of wool, tallow, horns, hides, hard woods, and copper. The colony, thus prepared by Governor Macquarie, began its career of freedom under the governorship of Sir Thomas Brisbane (1821 to 1825), who was the first governor that favoured free emigration to the colony. It began to receive British adventurers in the year 1822. These colonists were granted (1829) a legislative council for their government, which was subsequently (1834) modified. The practice of sending convicts to the island was (1842) abolished, and (1850) the people were granted a parliament, with one branch of it elected by themselves.

In New Holland, since the year 1822, large towns have been built and extensive provinces occupied by freemen; the Church of Rome and its Inquisition have been excluded from authority; gold fields have been discovered in more than one part of the country; railways as well as roads facilitate the traffic of the island; ships from every great commercial nation enter its ports; and the labour which has produced these advantages is cheered and stimulated by the

possession of civil and religious liberty, without which every national blessing is only transitory.

Hitherto very little has been said in this book regarding education in relation to the Church of Rome, because its influence on her condition was not very powerful. At the present day not more than a seventh part of the population in each civilized country receive even a school education; and consequently a much less number receive a good education. A knowledge merely of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and facility in going through the religious duties of a family creed, do not constitute more than the means of acquiring education, which consists in a knowledge of the history and general character of man, a knowledge of some trade or business, an acquaintance with the science of business in general, skill in expressing one's ideas perspicuously, and an early habit of self-denial. In short, education should be a system of discipline which would both train the morals and awaken the thoughts, instead of being a system for training persons to perform mechanical routine. The Church of Rome, however, has always discouraged useful education. The item in it of the church's chief abhorrence is *history*. This is natural, as a true narrative of her unjust and bloody proceedings would be injurious to her. But educa-

tion in all its branches, unless carried on under her special control and inspection, has always been virtually forbidden. It is well known that Galileo was forced by the Inquisition to abjure the fact of the earth's motion round the sun, and the same "holy office" has condemned Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia* as being "an infidel publication." Of late years the whole science of geology has become a bugbear to the Romish Church.

The progress of education so far as it has gone has undoubtedly injured the influence of the Romish Church, but only indirectly. Even since the invention of printing (1457) the bulk of the English and French people, for instance, never can have been much enlightened by education. They have always been buried in gross ignorance, and have been a prey to various irrational prejudices and superstitions. Their hostilities with Popery were originally mere quarrels about money. Their efforts for "liberty of conscience" arose from "impatience of taxation." All Roman Catholic countries are poor. The exactions of the priests and the degrading influence of Popery are always so great that they impoverish the industrial classes of every nation that submits to them. England, France, and the United States are independent of Rome, and they are the only nations that can be called wealthy. Portugal,

Spain, and Italy are the only nations that are entirely Popish, and they are also the poorest in Europe. Hitherto, therefore, it is not education but *money* that has been the most effective instrument in weakening the power of Rome.

But among those who are reading persons and also thoughtful the influence of education has been decidedly adverse to Popery. All the great works of modern science and literature have been written by Protestants or infidels. It would be impossible to name any original work in history, political economy, mathematics, physics, or languages which has been written by a Roman Catholic since the death of Giovanni B. Vico (1744), while the array on the other side is comparatively immense—for instance, Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, Gibbon, Hume, Ottfried Müller, Grote, Owen, Watt, Laplace, Franklin, Davy, Priestley, Gall, D'Alembert, Lagrange, Fulton, Telford, Stephenson, Niebuhr, Passow, James L. C. Grimm, and Gesenius. This proves that if education were adapted to awakening thought it would be a powerful instrument against Popery; yet Protestants—especially orthodox Protestants—seem in some instances as much afraid as the Roman Catholics are of useful education. The chief cause that education has only a slight influence on the mass even of those who receive what is called educa-

tion is because it is customary to terminate reading almost as soon as men grow out of boyhood. Bacon says*—"To say the truth, the reason why the excellent writings and moral discourses of the ancients have so little effect on our lives and morals seems to be that they are not usually read by men of ripe age and judgment, but left entirely to inexperienced youths and children." Men become so absorbed in the pursuits of vulgar ambition or vicious indulgence that they will tell you they have not time to read. From this unrestrained pursuit of things which mortals call glory and pleasure arise unceasing toil, bankruptcy, insolvency, discontent, lunacy, apoplexy, paralysis, softening of the brain, and a number of other calamities far more numerous than those to which human life is heir by nature. From this self-imposed condition of ignorance or semi-education arise those prejudices, bigotries, and ignorant delusions which frighten the vicious from the worship of pleasure to the worship of pain, leading them to think they can buy glory and happiness in a future state by undergoing voluntary humility and misery before death. Anyone who reflects on these things will perceive how imperfectly men understand what rational amusement is. Excessive labour and excessive indulgence almost equally shorten human

* De. Aug., Bk. VII., Ch. 3.

life and human enjoyment. Franklin says*—"It has been computed by some political arithmetician that if every man and woman would work for four hours each day on something useful, their labour would produce all the necessaries and comforts of life; want and misery would be banished out of the world, and the rest of the twenty-four hours might be leisure and pleasure." But it is only comparatively few men who think of these things, and education can have influenced mankind only through the medium of the few thinkers who have succeeded in influencing opinion. Of these thinkers by far the most influential has been Adam Smith. He was the first to advocate scientifically the principle of free trade. If it be carried out it will do more than anything else towards mixing mankind in the peaceable pursuit of matters connected with their self-interest, and thereby bigotry will be incurably weakened. But bigotry constitutes almost the whole strength of the Roman Catholic Church, which has always been opposed to free trade. As yet, however, neither free trade or education can be regarded as having had a direct influence on the progress of human events, or even the destiny of modern Rome.

During the three centuries commencing from the

* Letter to Benjamin Vaughan, 1784.

separation of Switzerland from the Romish Church (1524 to 1822) the Papal Empire was not materially enlarged, except in South America. The last Romish shepherd of new sheep was the orthodox Pizarro! On the other hand her losses were considerable. She lost nearly all North America and a portion of Europe, the rest of which for the most part became discontented with her. Protestants pre-occupied Australia. Her Asiatic church died a natural death. In fact the Church of Rome had become but little more than a fragment of what she was. Even in those countries where her church continued the established one, silent infidelity had weakened her power. Pius the Seventh does not appear to have aspired to anything much more ambitious than the preservation of his little realm. If any of his successors should think of acquiring that universal ecclesiastical dominion of which so many of his predecessors dreamed, the barbaric power of Russia in the east, the wealth and liberty of the United States in the west, and the rising civilization of Australia and Chilè in the south would render the realization of that thought an object of increased difficulty. Such was the general condition of the Papacy at the death (1823, 20th Aug.) of Pius the Seventh.

With the restoration of Pius the Seventh the

general history of the Papacy in connexion with foreign movements may be said to terminate, but the particular history of it during the following thirty-six years is not unimportant.

Pius was succeeded by Annibale della Genga, who took the name of Leo the Twelfth. Leo was well acquainted with the business of diplomacy and with foreign politics. He made more open attempts to maintain the authority of his office than his predecessor had done. He published his dislike to Bible societies, and showed that he dreaded the progress of education. When the South American Republics established their independence (1824) Leo was afraid to break off intercourse with them, although he had done everything in his power to support the authority of Spain over them. He entered into negotiations and made terms with the new States for filling the sees there according as they became vacant. These terms, however, considerably abridged the papal power. Leo was the declared enemy of the Carbonari and all persons who were the friends of Italian liberty. He died (1829) without having achieved anything very important, and was succeeded by Francisco Xaverio Castiglioni, who took the name of Pius the Eighth, but died shortly afterwards (1831), and was succeeded by Mauro Capellari, who took the name of

Gregory the Sixteenth. During the pontificate of Pius the Eighth the second French revolution (1880, 29th July) took place. That revolution dethroned the Bourbons, who were always favourable to the Church of Rome, and it increased and encouraged throughout the continent of Europe the desire among the people for free government. Louis Philippe, a member of one of the junior branches of the deposed family, was made "King of the French," and in course of time he imitated the despotic vices of the Bourbons. Gregory, as an ecclesiastical ruler, was bigoted and exclusive, and as a civil ruler he was a tyrant of the most contemptible sort, for in order to render himself despotic he sought and obtained the aid of the Austrians. The result of this was that instead of his being a limited but independent monarch, he was a despot ruled by a foreign power which he could not shake off. Gregory misgoverned and oppressed his subjects during fifteen years, died (1846), and was succeeded by Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti, who took the name of Pius the Ninth. Pius had been sent to South America as auditor to the vicar-apostolic of Chilè, and in that capacity he had become acquainted with the secrets of diplomacy and politics. When he was elevated to the Papacy he found its finances almost in a state

of bankruptcy, its prisons crowded with Papal subjects by orders from the Austrian authorities, who were too powerful to be disobeyed, its executive offices publicly offered for sale, its army filled with mercenaries, its civilians excluded from official life, and the idea of representative government almost unknown to its subjects. Pius attempted to relieve the persons suffering from these oppressions and injustices, and the mere attempt to give relief was hailed by his subjects as indications of approaching liberality and reform ! His subjects were so grossly ignorant and so incapable of profiting even from experience that they imagined it possible that the cause of justice and liberty could be sincerely embraced by a Pope ! In reality, all that Pius wished for was to be free from foreign control and interference. But when powerful friends are let into a weak State they are not easily expelled.

A new party had been formed in Italy after the failures of the Carbonari. Joseph Mazzini, a Genoese lawyer (born in the year 1809), had become a sharer in the discontent which many Italians felt on account of the political degradation of Italy. That country was partly oppressed by the Austrian soldiery, and the rest of it was oppressed by native tyrants of the most absolute and the most stupid description. Reflecting on the weakness of each Italian State in

comparison of France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, Mazzini came to the conclusion that "the freedom of Italy from both foreign and domestic tyranny, could be attained only by a union of all the separate States into one nation,—Romans, Piedmontese, Tuscans, Neapolitans, Lombards, Venetians, &c.,—all merging their separate interests in the one common name of Italians, and under this name forming a single powerful European nation," and that this union could be effected only by a general popular insurrection. To this conclusion Mazzini firmly adhered, leaving the form of government to be used by united Italy to the determination of events, but expressing his preference for a republic. He became the centre and the animating spirit of a number of young men, labouring at various occupations, who were thoroughly discontented with their social and political evils. At first by his conversations, and afterwards by his writings, his opinions regarding united Italy became widely spread. After the revolution at Paris which dethroned Charles the Tenth (1830), the Piedmontese Government became alarmed and arrested Mazzini, but as nothing definite was ascertained against him, he was released (1831) on condition of his leaving Italy. In his banishment, however, he formed the rudiments of a new organization among the Italian refugees. To this organization he gave

the name of *La Giovine Italia*, "Young Italy." This name he gave also to a journal which he printed at Marseille, and sent copies of it to Italy. But again (1833) the Piedmontese Government anticipated the efforts of these patriotic conspirators by seizing and putting to death their chief agents in Italy. This proceeding scattered Mazzini's organization to the winds for about fourteen years. A third revolution took place in France (1848, 24th Feb.), and Louis Philippe was dethroned on account of his endeavouring to render himself absolute. This event was followed by several revolutions throughout Europe. The inhabitants of Lombardy arose and endeavoured to expel their Austrian oppressors. These outbreaks enabled Mazzini to appear at Milan where "Young Italy" had commenced war, the misconduct of which was afterwards entrusted to Charles Albert, King of Piedmont, who failed (1848, 24th July), and Mazzini wandered about Italy as a volunteer with those who tried to protract that almost hopeless war.

In the meantime the Romans had become discontented with Pius, who was only a more prudent despot than most of the other Italian tyrants. The French revolution (1848) spread the spirit of independence throughout Rome as well as throughout the rest of Italy. The Pope's minister, Count Rossi,

was assassinated (Nov. 15). The Roman populace demanded extensive reforms, prevailed on the regular troops to fraternize with them, defeated the Swiss guards of Pius, and compelled the Pope to yield (Nov. 16), and to promise extensive reforms. A republican administration was then established at Rome, and Pius became virtually a prisoner in his own palace. Disguised as a footman he escaped, and flying to the King of Naples, openly identified himself with the despots to whom he naturally belonged. The Roman Constitutional Parliament which was then sitting resigned its powers, and convened an assembly to be elected by universal suffrage, to consist of one hundred and fifty members, and to provide a regular government for Rome. This assembly met (1849, 6th Feb.), and soon afterwards (9th Feb.) passed two decrees. By the first decree the temporal sovereignty of the Pope in the Roman States was abolished for ever; and by the second these States were constituted a republic. Mazzini was not in Rome at this time, but he was elected to the assembly, and the revolution quite accorded with his sentiments and with his written opinions. When he arrived he was received with acclamations, became the acknowledged leader of the new republic, and (30th March) he, Saffi, and Armellini were appointed triumvirs invested with full power for defending the

republic against the Pope and his friends. The Pope had not any strength whatever, but the Roman Catholic powers of Europe were inclined to make common cause with him, and the French Government then under Louis Napoleon, afterwards Napoleon the Third, sent an army of thirty thousand soldiers, commanded by General Oudinot, to take possession of Rome and restore Pius to his temporal kingdom. Mazzini had only fourteen thousand regular troops in the city, and it was therefore thought that he would surrender without fighting; but he had made preparations for defending the Republic to the last. The first attack made by the French (30th April) was repulsed with a loss to them of seven hundred men. During two months the Romans both defended themselves against the French and repelled a Neapolitan invasion with an obstinacy and a heroism which excited the astonishment of Europe. After a considerable part of Rome had been laid in ruins the city was defenceless, and (3d July) the French entered it. The Assembly was dissolved (4th), but Mazzini, the soul of the heroic defence, escaped to England.*

* In England he was greeted by the following lines :—

“ Though brutish force the game has won,
Triumvir, thou hast nobly done ;
And Rome’s old heroes from their spheres
Shout, chiming in with British cheers,
Bravo Mazzini ! ”

The French remained exclusive masters of Rome until the Pope returned (1850, 12th April), when they resigned the government to him. But Pius was not strong enough to govern his subjects, vast numbers of whom were undergoing imprisonment, torture, or banishment. It was therefore arranged that a French garrison should remain in Rome to protect Pius, by seizing any of his subjects whom he might suspect and putting them into jail. Without this protection Pius was so hated that he could not reign at all. So that in the middle of the nineteenth century the Papal power does not seem to be much stronger than it was in the middle of the fifteenth century. The Church of Rome, by setting an example to the contrary effect, has helped to prove that "honesty is the best policy." After having perpetrated every kind of fraud, injustice, deceit, and treachery, the Church of Rome, in the middle of the nineteenth century, was further removed from being the universal church on earth than it was four hundred years previously.

But by far the most remarkable circumstance relating to modern Rome is the physical decay of the Celtic race in Europe. This decay is most perceptible in Scotland, Ireland, Germany, France, and even in Spain and Italy. The negroes are incapable of being civilized—that is to say, if any

people endeavour to make negroes live by their labour and by their independent exertions, the negroes so attempted to be civilized disappear. The Mongolians, though capable of civilization to some extent, are incapable of it in any advanced degree, and the same observation holds good regarding the American Indians. There have been individuals among the Celts who were not only capable of civilization, but even advanced its progress. On the whole, however, the Celts are impatient of civilization; and while the negroes and Mongolians—the Africans and Asiatics generally—have not any definite idea of political liberty, the Celts, although they have an idea of political liberty and a strong desire for it, yet whenever they obtain it they abuse it, and have hitherto been unable to preserve it for any considerable length of time. Those races that are incapable of civilization or of free government are imperfect types of humanity; they belong to the genus man, but they are not men. In Europe they are almost always Roman Catholics or Infidels, hardly ever Protestants or Unitarians, and their presence has been generally accompanied by standing armies, and a superstitious obedience to an ignorant and intolerant priesthood. The Celts are strangers to individual self-reliance, to free trade, and to the modern principles of free colonization,

all of which have been the works of the Teutonic race, the perfect men. When the Celts die out of Europe we may expect to see the destruction of military despotism in Europe, and the extinction of the Roman Catholic Church's power to persecute. History shows the pertinacity with which the inferior races of men continue in a bad course. Of this the Celtic Roman Catholics, with their fickle and persecuting disposition and conduct, are an example. The disappearance of the negro, the native American, the Celtic, and the Mongolian tribes must precede the universal improvement of the human race.

FINIS.





